

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE METAPHOR USED IN THE ECONOMIC  
NEWS ARTICLES IN BRITAIN AND HONG KONG**

**BY**

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## Abstract

As cognitive linguistics argues, the meaning construction processes that we employ to understand and interact with the world around us are dynamic processes and are highly metaphorical. Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson appears to be insufficient to explain the fuzziness in categorization and the emergence of mixed metaphors. Categorization theory indicates that meaning construction processes are not fixed while the presence of mixed metaphor casts doubt on the idea whether metaphor production is simply a cross domain mapping. Moreover, metaphor is also cultural-cognitive that it is a good tool to explore the ways of thinking, evaluations, values and attitudes of the people speaking the metaphor. On the pragmatic level, the choice of metaphor helps deliver the stance and achieve the persuasive ends of the writers.

In my study, I compare how the commonly used word 'economy' is construed with metaphors in the economic discourse in two locations, Britain and Hong Kong, in an attempt to illustrate the above mentioned ideas. Firstly, on the cognitive level, I compare the conceptual metaphors manifested in shaping the concepts concerning 'economy'. I argue that primary metaphors are near-universal across cultures. Moreover, I discuss some of these mixed metaphors observed in my corpora in order to illustrate that meaning construction processes is dynamic processes. I also suggest observing cross-cultural differences in conceptual metaphor by looking at the change of image schema. Then, I further investigate these conceptual metaphors on the cultural-cognitive level, in an attempt to explore the ideas attached with the word 'economy' in these two locations. Finally, I attempt to illustrate the pragmatic functions of metaphors, that is, how the choice of metaphors helps achieve the persuasive ends of the writers.

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## Introduction

In the field of cognitive linguistics, it has been widely accepted that our thought processes are highly metaphorical. In other words, metaphor constitutes and constructs human thoughts. In this field of study, cognitive linguists argue that meaning construction is derived from embodied experience which is organized in terms of image schema, or experiential gestalts. It is believed that the work conducted by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003) is a pioneer work in this field. In their work, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (hereafter CMT), they argue that metaphor is the cross domain mapping between the source domains and the target domains. Moreover, there is a systematic network of metaphors that human beings utilize to construct their thoughts. Despite their inspiration to later work in cognitive linguistics, it is evident that CMT alone is insufficient to explain the emergence of creative metaphors and mixed metaphors. This limitation raised the doubt whether metaphor production is restricted to cross-domain mapping. In the theoretical outline of my thesis, I attempt to address the limitations of CMT and complement these limitations with the help of Blending Theory and Primary Metaphor Theory.

In addition, the embodied nature of meaning construction processes cannot be investigated exclusive of cultural influence since we cannot be separated from our

social environments. The fuzziness in the categorization of the source and target domains and thus the naming of a conceptual metaphor across individuals and cultures are evidence that culture and embodied experience are inseparable. This limitation concerning categorization indicates that metaphor production is not as fixed as CMT claims. While discussing the above limitations concerning CMT, in my thesis, I conclude that meaning construction is a dynamic process and metaphor study is cultural-cognitive. In this respect, metaphor is a good tool to explore the ways of thinking of people speaking the metaphor. Moreover, metaphor has long been a rhetorical device as Aristotle claimed. Its pragmatic function cannot be ignored. Many speakers, especially politicians, may prefer certain metaphors over others in order to convince or influence the decisions of their audience.

Based on the cognitive, cultural and pragmatic natures of metaphor, I have compiled two corpora composed of economic news articles sourced from two newspapers in year 2006, namely *The Guardian* (UK) and the *Hong Kong Economic Journal Newspaper* in Britain and Hong Kong respectively, in an attempt to compare the conceptual metaphors manifested in delineating the search word ‘economy’ in these two cultures. The news articles in year 2006 in the two newspapers were divided into twelve sub-folders, corresponding to the twelve months in a year. Data in the

two December sub-folders was investigated as a pilot study in an attempt to grasp a preliminary picture of the conceptual metaphors employed in the two newspapers. The major source domains observed in these two sub-folders include LIVING ORGANISM, MECHANICS, BUILDING and CONTAINER. Among these four major types of source domain, it appears that the metaphors in relation to LIVING ORGANISM in the two corpora show more comparable features. For example, both corpora describe the economy as a living organism using different body-parts to achieve different kinds of purposes. In addition, some of the linguistic expressions of these body-part metaphors are culture-specific. Based on the above preliminary findings observed in the Pilot Study and the limitation to look at all the different kinds of metaphors in my study, when I look at the whole corpora, I focus on comparing the conceptualization of the ‘economy’ as a living organism in the two corpora only. Briefly, I mainly looked at how different kinds of body-part metaphors were employed to conceptualize the ‘economy’ in these two newspapers. The research questions of my study concerning the use of body-part metaphors in the newspapers are summarized below:

- i. What are the conceptual metaphors manifested in conceptualizing the search word ‘economy’ as a living organism using different body-parts in the two newspapers?
- ii. What aspects of the ‘economy’ are conceptualized through these body-parts metaphors?

- iii. On a cognitive level, what kinds of body-parts metaphors are similar when the ‘economy’ is conceptualized as a living organism in these two newspapers?
- iv. How can the differences in these body-parts metaphors be observed at a linguistic level?
- v. Through these body-parts metaphors, what values and ways of thinking attached to the word ‘economy’ in these two places are revealed?
- vi. Pragmatically, how can these body-parts metaphors help deliver the stance of the writers in these two places?

Before answering these questions, Chapter one will introduce the central ideas of cognitive linguistics, the central tenets and the limitations of CMT, in an attempt to explain that the meaning construction process is dynamic. Moreover, Chapter one also attempts to explain the interrelatedness of culture and conceptual metaphor and the importance of implementing culture into the study of metaphor. Chapter two mainly introduces the ways of measuring cross-cultural variations in metaphor. After setting out the theoretical background of my study in these two chapters, a general introduction of metaphor used in economic discourse is provided in Chapter three. As my study is a corpus-based study of metaphor used in economic discourse at a cross-linguistic level, a general introduction of corpus linguistics and its application in metaphor study are also explained in this Chapter. Chapter four will provide a detailed explanation of the methodologies, background of the data and the

findings of the pilot study for my study. As mentioned earlier, my study focused on comparing the body-parts metaphors in conceptualizing the word ‘economy’ in the newspapers in Britain and Hong Kong. The results of my study will be illustrated from Chapters Five to Seven. Chapter Five will discuss how the ‘economy’ is conceptualized as a travelling entity, that is, the utilization of the journey metaphor. Chapter Six focuses on the motion metaphors concerning the hands and the body with which the ‘economy’ is conceptualized as a living organism in these two corpora. Chapter Seven focuses on the motions related to other body parts such as the mouth and the breathing organs. In each chapter, apart from investigating the similarities and differences concerning the conceptual metaphors in conceptualizing the ‘economy’ as a living organism in these two corpora, attention is paid to study what values and ways of thinking of the people living in these two places are reflected via these metaphors.

## Chapter 1: Cognitive approaches to metaphor study

### Introduction

This chapter attempts to address the study of metaphor from the cognitive linguistics perspective. Among others, Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is a pioneer work. This chapter begins with a brief introduction to the classical and cognitive approaches in metaphor study. Following this is an outline of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The outline focuses on the cognitive, pervasive and embodied nature of metaphor. In the course of discussion, challenges to the Theory and its modification with Primary Metaphor Theory and Blending Theory are raised. The final part of this chapter is devoted to the contemporary views on the relationship between culture and embodied experience, in an attempt to argue that both of them may affect the formation of each other. In other words embodied experience is not the only way for the formation of all levels of culture.

### 1.1 Definition of metaphor

Aristotle is credited with being the first to outline the notion of metaphor. In *Poetics*, he defines metaphor as:

“movement [epiphora] of an alien [allotrios] name from either genus to species or from species to genus or from species to species or by analogy.”

(Kennedy’s translation, 1991:295[1457b])

As Charteris-Black (2004) points out, the above definition indicates that metaphor involves a transfer of meanings. The above citation indicates four kinds of ‘metaphorical’ transfer; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species or on grounds of analogy (*Poetics* 1457b:6-9, cited in Moran 1996:85, Ricoeur 1975, Leezenberg 2001). According to Leezenberg (2001), the first two types of transfer are subsumed as synecdoche, the third one as metonymy and the last one as metaphor. As such, synecdoche refers to the ‘part stands for whole’ or the ‘whole stands for part’ phenomena while metonymy just refers to the process of associations. Since both synecdoche and metonymy are based on association, both of them are now commonly referred to as metonymy (Knowles and Moon 2006:48). The last kind of transfer is generally referred to as metaphors which are based on similarity and substitution. By and large, these four kinds of transfer are now mainly grouped as the two tropes of figurative languages, metonymy and metaphor.

Since Aristotle's time till the nineteenth century, the logical positivists raised the significance of mathematics and geometry. They held that the purpose of language is to reveal reality precisely and literal language is objective enough to express the reality. In contrast, metaphor is a kind of decorative language used in poetry and literature. The use of metaphor always involves the violation of linguistic rules and metaphor does not convey true messages. Therefore metaphor is a deviance and is treated as secondary to literal language (Cameron 1999 & 2003, Deignan 2005, Holme 2004, Ritchie 2006, Way 1994, Fahnstock 2000, Leezenberg 2001).

In classical view, metaphor study is regarded as the finding of the similarity or analogy between the metaphorical language and its literal equivalent. Scholars supporting the comparison or similarity view include Mooij (1976) and Fogelin (1988) whom Leezenberg (2001) classifies as referentialists. Claiming that Aristotle also viewed metaphors as elliptical similes, the referentialists argue that metaphors are the comparison of some *pre-existing* similarities between two real objects without the word 'like' being stated in the sentence. For example the metaphor 'The economy is a human agent' can be written as the simile 'The economy is like a human agent', in which the features of economy are compared to those of a human agent for they share



some pre-existing similarities. In this respect, metaphorical expressions can always be substituted by other literal phrases without losing meaning.

Nevertheless, many linguists have also pointed out the cognitive value of metaphor.

That is to say, metaphor is in thought. I. A. Richards opposes the classical view that metaphor is based on similarities between two dissimilar terms. Instead, metaphor interpretation *motivates* and *creates* similarities. He argues that metaphor is ‘an interaction between two *thoughts* of different things active together and supported by a single word or phrase’ (Richards 1936:93, cited in Way 1994:5). Richards divides metaphor into two halves: the tenor and the vehicle. For instance in the metaphor ‘men are wolves’, men is the tenor whereas wolves is the vehicle. In this example, the tenor (men) is understood in terms of the vehicle (wolves) metaphorically. Later, Richards’ terminology is commonly used and further expanded into tenor, vehicle and ground in which the ground is the set of features shared by both tenor and vehicle.

Elaborated from I. A. Richards’ theory on metaphor, Black’s interaction theory renames Richards’ terms tenor and vehicle as ‘frame’ and ‘focus’ respectively.

Following Richards, Black (1993) also attempts to interpret metaphors at a cognitive-conceptual level, a level different from treating metaphors as mere language.

He argues that metaphor is the interaction of the ‘systems of implications’ of the two

domains, an idea similar to Richards' notion of 'interaction between two thoughts' (in Ortony 1993: 30). Moreover, new meanings of the two domains which cannot be reduced to literal paraphrase are created during the process of metaphor interpretation (see also Cameron 1999, Charteris-Black 2004, Johnson 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1980 & 2003 for the cognitive values of metaphor).

Indeed, the claims of Richards and Black that metaphor is the 'interaction between two thoughts' and metaphor is 'the system of implication' reveal the encyclopaedic nature of metaphor. In other words the understanding of metaphor involves the concepts and beliefs shared by the speakers', readers' or listeners' community (see section 1.4 for details), other than merely the linguistic meaning of the figurative expressions. However, it was not until recent decades that the cognitive linguistics brought the cognitive functions of metaphor to attention again. In the following sections, the central ideas of cognitive linguistics in relation to metaphor study are provided.

## 1.2 Cognitive linguistics in language study

Cognitive linguistics claims that how we construe our experience with the world is mediated by the nature of our bodies and we organize our embodied experience metaphorically. Therefore our language, one of the tools to study 'the organization

of our conceptual system' is highly metaphorical (Evans and Green 2006:170). Cognitive linguistics also claims that our embodied experience is basically sensory-motored and is organized in the form of image schemas. Johnson (1987:29), in his book *The Body in the Mind*, defines image schema as 'a recurrent pattern, shape, and regularity in, or of, these ongoing activities.' Gibbs also argues that

“much of ordinary human cognition is not represented in terms of propositional and sentential information but is grounded in and structured by various patterns of our perceptual interactions, bodily actions, and manipulations of objects. These patterns are experiential gestalts, called ‘image schemas’ that emerge during sensorimotor activity as we manipulate objects, seek orientation spatially and temporally, and direct our perceptual focus for various purposes.” (Gibbs et al 2004:1,192)

Johnson (1987) listed a variety of image-schemas by which we organize our experience with the world. CONTAINER, BALANCE, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, PATH, CYCLE, ATTRACT and LINK are some of them. Taking the CONTAINER schema as an example, the schema is formed when we repeatedly encounter experience of getting in and out of places, pouring tea in and out of cups and the like (Johnson 1987, Gibbs & Colston 1995 for more detail of the categories of image-schemas).

Cognitive linguistics subsumes the study of language into two branches, namely cognitive semantics and the cognitive approach to grammar. Cognitive semantics views conceptualization as meaning construction. This branch aims to study the relationship between experience, embodied cognition and language. The other branch of this approach is the cognitive approach to grammar. In this branch, grammar is viewed as involving our cognitive processes and is grounded in language use. In other words, grammar is not simply a system of ‘words and rules’. As Evans and Green put it (2006:114),

“Cognitive Grammar takes a symbolic or constructional view of language, according to which there is no distinction between syntax and lexicon. Instead, the grammar consists of an inventory of units that are form-meaning pairings: morphemes, words and grammatical constructions.”

These three parts unite to represent a linguistic unit which can be a word, a phrase and the like. For example, when the phonetic symbols [k], [æ] and [t] are put together, they form the unit [kæt] which represents the word ‘cat’.

In the field of cognitive linguistics, Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980 & 2003) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (hereafter CMT) is believed to be the pioneer work. In the following section, the central ideas of CMT are discussed. In the course of

discussion, the embodied cognition, the issue related to categorization and the challenges to CMT will be discussed.

### 1.3 An outline of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Based on the central idea that language reveals thoughts, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose the CMT. Deignan (2005) summarizes the notions of CMT into five main tenets. They are i) Metaphor structures thinking; ii) Metaphor structures knowledge; iii) Metaphor is central to abstract language; iv) Metaphor is grounded in physical experience; v) Metaphor is ideological. In contrast to the aesthetic view of metaphor in the classical approach, the first three tenets of CMT reveal that metaphor is in thought but not in language. The final two tenets point out the embodied basis and ideological nature of metaphor. This chapter mainly addresses the cognitive and embodied nature of metaphor. The ideological nature of metaphor will be discussed in Chapter Two.

#### 1.3.1 Metaphor is central to our thought

In their seminal book, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, 2003), Lakoff and Johnson strongly argue that meaning construction, and thus our language is highly metaphorical. Indeed, many of the expressions we use for our daily communication

are metaphorical, as in ‘the *foot* of the mountains’, ‘keep the machine *working*’ or ‘it *drives* me crazy’. As Deignan (2005:18) comments, our language is hardly metaphor-free. Metaphors are so pervasive that we may even be unaware of them. Moreover, if we look closely at many prepositions and particles in phrasal verbs, we will discover that many of them are metaphorical. They are often overlooked as they are treated as grammatical words (Knowles & Moon 2006, Deignan 2005, Stockwell 2002). As in ‘up’ in ‘inflation is *up*’, this phrase is commonly utilized to describe the situation in an economy. According to CMT, the preposition ‘up’ in the statement above is derived from the correlation of an increase in quantity with a rise of physical level. However, we often treat the preposition ‘up’ as a ‘dead’ metaphor and do not remember this original association.

Moreover, many abstract but fundamental concepts such as time, life and argument are difficult to express clearly on their own terms without using metaphors. For instance people commonly express the abstract concept ‘time’ by referring to it as a physical commodity which we can *waste*, *save*, *spend*, *give*, *leave* and *lose*. ‘Life’ is often delineated as a journey which is composed of *destinations*, *crossroads* and *impediments*. ‘Argument’ is talked about as war that involves *strategies* and *weapons* (Murphy 1996, Lakoff & Johnson 1980 & 2003, Knowles & Moon 2006,

Gibbs 2004, Deignan 2005, Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Kovesces 2000). Reddy (1993:189-201) observes that English has a preferred framework for conceptualizing the abstract notion *communication* as the physical transfer of objects, as in ‘I *gave* you that idea’, ‘Your concepts *come across* beautifully’, ‘Your words seem rather *hollow*’ and ‘Marsha *got* those concepts from Rudolf.’ These examples indicate that language functions like a conduit which has an ‘inside’ and an ‘outside’, through which, thought and emotions are contained and are delivered or received as entities. Moreover, metaphor is also indispensable in constructing knowledge. Taking Information Technology as an example, when this new knowledge emerged in the 1990s, metaphors in relation to spiders and sports such as surfing were employed to structure this new knowledge. To date, computer terminology originated from these two topics such as ‘net’, ‘webs’ or ‘surfing on the Internet’ that became deeply entrenched ways to describe the operation of this relatively new technology (Deignan 2005).

As the locus of metaphor is in our thought, metaphor is renamed as conceptual metaphor in CMT. A conceptual metaphor is formulated as ‘X is Y’ whereby Y (the source domain) is employed to comprehend X (the target domain). Moreover, a conceptual metaphor is usually written in capital letters to distinguish it from its

linguistic expressions. For example in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, JOURNEY is the source domain by which we understand the target domain, LOVE. The linguistic expressions realizing this conceptual metaphor include ‘we’re at a crossroad’, ‘we can’t turn back now’ and ‘our relationship is a dead-end street’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 2003, Kovecses 2002:4-5, Knowles and Moon 2006).

### 1.3.2 Evidence supporting the metaphorical nature of our thought

Psycholinguistic research has helped validate the important role and conceptual nature of metaphor. For instance the experiments carried out by Gibbs and his associates (Gibbs 1994:294, Gibbs and O’Brian 1990) about how people interpret idioms suggest that people construct their thoughts metaphorically. In their research, the participants were asked to form mental images of idioms such as ‘*blow your stack*’ and were then asked questions about the causes and consequences of the actions described in their images. As Gibbs reports:

“people reported that pressure (i.e., stress or frustration) caused the action, that one had little control over the pressure once it was building, that its violent release was done unintentionally (e.g., the blowing of the stack), and that once the release had taken place (once the ceiling had been hit, the lid



flipped, the stack blown) it was difficult to reverse the action.” (Gibbs 1994:294)

According to Gibbs, the respondents’ reports are highly consistent in that they correlate their conceptual knowledge of heated fluid escaping from containers with anger. In other words the respondents consistently conceptualize their thought about anger with the metaphor, container.

Moreover, research carried out by Gibbs and his colleagues (1992, in Gibbs 2006) helps validate the important role of metaphor. In their research, they investigate how people process the idioms and their literal paraphrases when they read them at the end of a story, for example ‘blow your stack’ versus ‘get very angry’ (Gibbs 1992). They found that the time people take to process the idiom can be faster than its literal paraphrase. The research result suggests that metaphorical language is not inferior to literal language. Moreover, it may even be inferred that metaphorical language is more important in our thought processes.

Results from gesture studies also help support the idea that many concepts are structured metaphorically (Cienki 2008, Müller 2004, Langacker 2008). Cienki’s research (2008:13) is a good example. In his research, some American native speakers were asked to express their opinions on honest behaviours while taking

examinations. When the speakers were giving their opinions, he observed the gestures of their hands. In the conversation, Cienki observed that when a speaker was expressing what 'truth is like', he refers to 'the truth' without any verbal metaphorical expressions, but makes a gesture with the hands which corresponds to the English expression, 'straight'. From the gesture, it reveals that the American native speakers conceptualize the concept, truth as straight and therefore 'telling the truth' is expressed as 'telling it straight'.

### 1.3.3 Degree of metaphoricity

As explained earlier, our thought and our language are highly metaphorical. Many phrases we regard as literal are indeed metaphorical or once they were novel metaphors but gradually were treated as 'dead' or literal. As Goatly (1997) claims, metaphoricity is a matter of degree. The distinction between literal and metaphorical language is situated along a cline. He distinguishes five categories along a cline to distinguish linguistic metaphors. They are the *active*, *tired*, *sleeping*, *buried* and *dead* metaphors. As Deignan (2005) comments, Goatly's categorization is based on how well a speaker thinks of the literal meaning of a word. She also notes that

Lakoff & Johnson (1987, in Deignan 2005) have distinguished four types of dead metaphor on the basis of conceptual connections. They are briefly described below.

1. Words which are linguistically dead because the original literal sense of the word is not in current use. For example the word '*pedigree*' which refers to a family tree, and was originally a metaphorical extension from a French term (a crane's foot), has disappeared. Moreover, with the word *pedigree*, the mental mapping of a crane's foot to a diagram of a family tree has also disappeared.
2. Words whose original literal sense has disappeared but the mental mapping is still in use. For instance the original literal sense of the word 'comprehend' as 'taking hold of some objects' has disappeared but its extended meaning as 'mentally comprehending an idea' is valid.
3. One-shot metaphors where the literal senses and the metaphorical senses are both in use. For example 'dunk' is a common term used to talk about a basketball move in American English. Originally, it was an action of dipping a biscuit into a hot drink but is now used to describe how a basketball is placed into a basketball net. This metaphor is treated as 'dead' because the mapping of a basketball is placed into a basketball net' as 'dipping a biscuit into a hot drink' is not employed in other situations.

4. References to conventional metaphors where both their literal and metaphorical senses of the words are in current use among speakers. For instance, both the literal and metaphorical senses of ‘grasp’ are in current use.

(Adapted from Deignan 2005:36-7)

According to Lakoff and Johnson, at a cognitive level, many ‘dead’ metaphors are actually very much alive. Based on the above two categorizations, Deignan (2005) devised a corpus-based classification to help classify the degree of metaphoricity of linguistic expressions. In her classification, there are four types of living metaphor, namely the *innovative*, *conventionalized*, *dead* and *historical* metaphors. As Deignan observes, *innovative* metaphors are of great interest to researchers in literature. Both the *innovative* and the *historical* metaphors can be identified easily with the use of corpora because they are rare and possibly even non-existent now. She further suggests that two notions, namely *coreness* and *dependency* are useful to distinguish *conventionalized* from *dead* metaphors. In a conventional metaphor, the metaphorical sense tends to evoke its literal counterpart in which the literal sense is more ‘core’ than the metaphorical sense. Moreover, the metaphorical sense is usually ‘dependent’ on the literal sense. Therefore, if the notions *coreness* and *dependency* do not apply to the metaphor with its literal counterpart, then the

metaphor is considered ‘dead’. The ideas in these two notions also recur in the method (MIP) devised by the Pragglejazz group (2009) which aims at distinguishing the metaphorical use of a word (see details of MIP in Chapter 4 Methodologies).

#### 1.3.4 Metaphor is the process of embodied cross-domain mapping

Another central idea of CMT is its claim of metaphor as an embodiment of cross-domain mapping. According to the Theory, metaphor involves the knowledge of the two conceptual domains (the source and the target domains) but not the replacement of one word with its literal paraphrase. There are sets of systematic correspondences (or mappings) between these two conceptual domains that our understandings of the source domain help *motivate* and *create* comprehension of the target domain. However, not every correspondence in the source domain can be mapped onto the target domain. The question arises as to what aspects are highlighted and mapped and what aspects are hidden. Lakoff and Johnson (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1990) propose the Invariance Principle to reply to the question. The Principle hypothesizes that the inherent target domain structure limits what can be mapped automatically (Lakoff 1990). The part that is mapped from the source to the target is always consistent with the inherent image-schematic structure

of the target domain. In other words only the ones which can provide us with the understanding of the target domain can be mapped from the source domain onto the target domain.

Moreover, the Theory argues that the mapping is grounded in our embodied experience. Lakoff and Johnson (1980 & 2003, 2002) called it the embodiment hypothesis. Taking the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP as an example, the Theory claims that the metaphorical mapping is derived from our correlation of verticality with quantity as we repeatedly experience the rise in physical level when the quantity of an object increases. As Gibbs (2006:436) supports, ‘(our) bodily experiences provide the source domains for metaphorically structuring aspects of abstract target domain spaces’. Since conceptual metaphors are based on our embodied experience, it is believed that many conceptual metaphors are universal since many of our bodily experiences are much alike across cultures. For instance the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP is near universal. Grady (1999:79-98) found that physical size is associated with importance metaphorically in many different unrelated languages such as Zulu, Hawaiian, Turkish and Malay. Nevertheless, conceptual metaphors may vary across cultures as some bodily experience is believed to be culturally filtered (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 2003, Kovecses 2005). A more detailed

discussion of cultural variations in conceptual metaphor is given in the latter part of this Chapter and Chapter Two.

Research from psycholinguistics and linguistics has provided empirical evidence about the correlation of embodied experience with metaphorical language. For example Gibbs et al (2004) examine how human feeling about hunger has motivated the conceptual metaphor DESIRE IS HUNGER among American English and Brazilian Portuguese. In their study, different sets of questions were given to investigate the kinds of linguistic expressions concerning ‘hunger’ that are often employed by these students to metaphorize ‘desire’ (for more examples of psycholinguistic research on metaphorical mapping, please see Gibbs & Colston 1995, Lakoff & Johnson 2003, Gibbs et al 2004, Gibbs 1996).

On a linguistic level, Sweetser’s analysis (1990:28-30) about the Mind-as-Body metaphor also supports the idea that many conceptual metaphors are motivated by our bodily experience. In her analysis, Sweetser notes that the heart often symbolizes emotions because blood-pumping is strong when affected by strong emotions. Anger is described as the taste, bitter wherein the unpleasant emotion described in anger is analogous to the unpleasant feeling triggered by a bitter taste on the taste-buds. Bright refers to the mood we would have as more enjoyable in a well-lit

room than in a dark room. Talmy's (1988 & 2000) and Johnson's (1987) analysis on modal verbs in terms of force dynamics show that our conceptualization of grammar is also partly influenced by our embodied experience (see details of this example in Chapter 6).

Research from neural-linguistics also attempts to explain how metaphorical mapping occurs in human brains. For instance Lakoff (2008) reports the findings of a study about the connection between the body and the brain. In the study, the researchers detected that the same mirror neurons characterizing the actions or the words such as 'grasp' are activated when we are perceiving, performing or even imagining an action or a word, in this case 'grasp'. From the perspective of neural-linguistics, the mapping of the two domains in a conceptual metaphor is the firing of different sets of neurons in our brain (Kovecses 2005, Lakoff and Johnson 2003, Lakoff 2008, Gibbs 2008).

### 1.3.5 Challenges to Conceptual Metaphor Theory

#### a. Challenge concerning cross-domain mapping

Although CMT inspired later work on metaphor study, it can by no means explain all the cases concerning meaning construction. Its thesis that metaphor is cross-domain



mapping has come under considerable criticism. By using the conceptual metaphor, ARGUMENT IS INTIMATE CONFLICT, Vervaeke and Kennedy (2004) express their doubt about the tenet of CMT that the knowledge of the source domains motivates our understanding of the target domains. Instead, they argue that there must be some pre-existing understanding or experience of both domains. They insist that we must first know some rules of how the argument (target domain) is to be conducted and thus knowledge of the target domain is pre-metaphoric. In this light, they claim that metaphor comprehension involves pre-existing similarity (or shared properties) between the two domains that have been reordered and reformatted through interactions. On the other hand, some linguists comment that the uni-directional mapping from the source to the target domains in CMT appears to be inadequate in explaining novel metaphors. For instance Grady et al (1999) point out that the image in the novel metaphor 'steam was coming out of his ears' seems not to exist in both the source domain (AN ANGRY PERSON) and the target domain (HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER). Therefore, it is hard to explain this metaphor in terms of cross-domain mapping as there are no systematic correspondences between the two domains. In responding to the above criticisms, some linguists suggest that the Blending Theory (Fauconnier 1997) may help in complementing the problem of uni-directionality of

the mapping and the problems that some images described in the conceptual metaphors do not exist in either the source or target domains (Kovesces 2002, Boers and Littlemore 2000, Deignan 2005).

Blending Theory labels the 'domains' in CMT as 'mental spaces' whereby the speakers construct and talk about perceived experience that is 'partial and temporary'.

In other words Blending Theory helps explain the 'on-line' process of meaning construction in metaphor. In Blending Theory, metaphor is interpreted in terms of a four-space model instead of the cross-domain mapping in CMT. While processing a metaphor, Blending Theory proposes that both the source and target domains (mental spaces 1 and 2 respectively) contribute to the understanding of metaphors and that the correspondences of these two spaces fuse together. The new blended information is put in space 3 (blended space) while the shared conceptual structures of spaces 1 and 2 are placed in space 4 (generic space). Taking the above metaphor 'steam was coming out of his ears' as an example again, the metaphor can be better explained by Blending Theory. In terms of Blending Theory, it can be explained that the information, 'an angry person with hot red ears' and 'steam was observed when there is hot fluid in a container' are blended and fused in a third space (blended space), which then has given rise to the image of the metaphor, 'steam was coming out of his

ears'. In this light, the blended space (space 3) solves the problem of uni-directionality and the problems that some images do not exist in the source and target domains (spaces 1 and 2) because both spaces 1 and 2 can contribute to the mapping and new images can emerge in the blended space (space 3).

The conceptual metaphor 'surgeons as butchers' is another commonly quoted example in explaining Blending Theory. According to Blending Theory, the correspondences of the source (the butchers) and the target domains (the surgeons) are put in spaces 1 and 2 respectively. The new, blended information and the generic information are put into spaces 3 and 4 respectively. The blended information that 'the surgeon is healing with the skills of a butcher' helps convey the main inference of this metaphor, that is, that the surgeon is incompetent. (For details of Blending Theory, please refer to Fauconnier 1997, Fauconnier and Turner 2002, Grady 1999 and Coulson and Oakley 2005).

Moreover, from the data in my study, a number of mixed metaphors can be observed. The emergence of these mixed metaphors indicates that the cross-domain mapping claimed by CMT is insufficient in analyzing all kinds of metaphors, such as mixed metaphors. Below are some of the examples of mixed metaphors I observed in my data.

- 6 ... is a symptom of deep imbalances in **America's economy**, in particular a tendency to live on borrowing... (UKGC\_Dec/06)
- 59 Instead the **economy** was slowly strangled by overdependence on one exploitable resource which created production bottlenecks, inefficiency, corruption and mismanagement... (UKGC\_Nov/06)
- 767 ...Because the formation and building structure of this kind of **district economies** that have unified into the same body is mainly pushed and directed by the government ... (HKEJC\_Sept/06)  
 (... 因为 这种 区域经济 共同体 的 形成 和 建构， 绝大部分 都 要 由 政府 主导 推动 ...)

In the above examples, more than one kind of metaphors can be observed in the same sentence. For instance, in line 6, the figurative expression, ‘a symptom of deep imbalances’ is a mixed metaphor composed of an organic metaphor and a mechanistic metaphor concerning equilibrium. As Müller (2008) explains, these kinds of metaphors are difficult to explain in terms of the cross-domain mapping claimed in CMT. Blending theory which operates as a four-space model may be more capable in analyzing mixed metaphors. From Chapter 4 onwards, more discussion on mixed metaphors will be provided.

#### b.Challenge concerning embodied cognition

Another challenge to Conceptual Metaphor Theory is its claim concerning the embodied basis of conceptual metaphor. Grady (1997) in his article, ‘*THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS revisited*’ re-examined the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS proposed by Lakoff and Johnson. Grady points out that there appears to be no direct

physical correlation between the two domains (THEORIES and BUILDINGS) in this conceptual metaphor. He proposes that primary metaphor is the more basic unit than conceptual metaphor and that the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS is a complex metaphor based on two primary metaphors, namely ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT. By means of a decompositional analysis, Grady shows that both abstract organizations and physical structures of objects are understood as some kinds of structures possessing 'parts in a complex entity' (p.274). This shared mapping forms the primary metaphor ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE wherein theories resemble a kind of abstract organization. However, this primary metaphor alone still cannot explain why theories and buildings come together to form the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDING. He further argues that the other primary metaphor PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT reflects an important quality of theories: 'persistence' which we conventionally associate with verticality. Prototypically, verticality is associated with buildings as we always encounter physical structures, such as buildings, standing on the ground. Therefore, the combination of these two primary metaphors helps substantiate the embodied basis of the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE

BUILDINGS. It also explains why conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE FABRICS is unlikely to occur since fabrics do not prototypically correlate with persistence.

Grady's Primary Metaphor Theory (1997:278) also helps solve the problem of 'poverty of mappings' of the Invariance hypothesis. As Grady argues, the Invariance hypothesis cannot explain why some correspondences are mapped but not others. Taking the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS as an example again, the primary metaphor PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT explains why other important correspondences of buildings such as tenants and architects are not mapped onto the target domain THEORY since they have no direct relationship with 'persistence'.

Grady points out that we do not need special help to understand these primary metaphors as they are derived from our fundamental physical experience. It is surprising as Lakoff and Johnson (2003:257) mention that there are hundreds of such universal primary metaphors which arise unconsciously and spontaneously from our brains since childhood. For example MORE IS UP is one of the primary metaphors where we correlate quantity with verticality. DESIRE IS HUNGER is another example of primary metaphor that is derived from our basic cognitive-emotional state. AFFECTION IS WARMTH is the result of the correlations of physical closeness with a rise

in our body temperature and the feeling of safety and comfort (please see Gibbs et al, 2004 and Lakoff and Johnson 1999 for more examples of primary metaphors.) These primary metaphors combine and form many different complex metaphors. For instance the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS A THIEF is a combination of the primary metaphors VALUED ASPECTS OF EXPERIENCE ARE PRECIOUS POSSESSIONS and DEATH IS A HUMAN BEING (Turner 1991:174).

#### c. Challenge concerning categorization

The final challenge of CMT discussed here relates to categorization of source and target domains. Indeed, categorization is another major concern in cognitive linguistics, in addition to the embodied cognition. Researchers investigating conceptual metaphors may well have encountered two kinds of categorization problems. The first problem is the fuzzy boundaries of the source and target domains. As Littlemore (2009) points out, the type of footwear that comes above the ankle may fall into the category of 'boot' in English but it is classified as a '*chaussure*' ('shoe') in France. Likewise, different researchers may prefer different categorizations to the same linguistic metaphors. To take the lexical items 'growth', 'revive' and 'slow down' in my data as examples, some people may group the first

two words into the domains ‘plant’ or ‘human being’ and the last one into ‘machine’.

However, it would also be possible to group all three words under the same category ‘human’ or ‘plant’. It is highly unlikely that there will be a fixed set of categorization for words and phrases.

The problem of fuzzy boundaries in turn leads to the second problem: the formulation of conceptual metaphor. As just mentioned, owing to variations in categorization, the classification of linguistic metaphors varies as well. As a result, it is highly unlikely that conceptual metaphors will remain fixed (Cameron 2008). However, in CMT, the source and target domains are conventionally written as nouns, implying that there is one static and fixed mental representation among all mankind. Taking the lexical items ‘growth’, ‘revive’ and ‘slow down’ as examples again, since they can be grouped together or placed under different source domains, readers may be confused as to how the mappings between the two domains are carried out in the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A HUMAN BEING / PLANT / MACHINE if their categorizations of these attributes are different from the writer’s. In order to reduce confusion evoked from rigidity in categorization, in some situations, it may be more appropriate to formulate conceptual metaphors with process verbs rather than nouns. For instance replacing the above conceptual metaphors as THE ECONOMY IS LIVING,



THE ECONOMY IS GROWING or THE ECONOMY IS PROGRESSING may allow more flexibility in meaning construction.

As reflected by the above example, fuzziness in categorization, including the naming of conceptual metaphor has cast doubt on whether embodied cognition alone can explain the processes in meaning construction. As Cameron (2008) argues, conceptual metaphors are not fixed, stable entities in our minds. Many different forces other than embodied experience, such as cultural factors, the discourse community wherein the metaphor is used or produced and individual idiosyncrasy, all work together in the formation and interpretation of conceptual metaphors. These non-linguistic factors (or encyclopaedic knowledge) vary from individual to socio-cultural levels and thus cause fuzziness in categorization. Indeed, recent trends in cognitive linguistics hold that meaning construction involves our non-linguistic knowledge (or encyclopaedic knowledge).

To summarize, meaning construction is a dynamic process in which many different factors work together. Therefore, categorization and thus conceptual metaphor cannot be fixed. In the next section, a detailed discussion of the importance of encyclopaedic knowledge in meaning construction is given.

#### 1.4 Encyclopaedic knowledge in meaning construction

As mentioned earlier, meaning construction is a dynamic process wherein semantic structure is encyclopaedic in nature. It means that the wider network of (not necessarily linguistic) knowledge such as our social, physical and cultural knowledge of a word will be inextricably activated in the process of understanding a word or a phrase. In other words ‘words do not represent neatly packaged bundles of meaning (the dictionary view), but serve as points of access to vast repositories of knowledge relating to a particular concept or conceptual domain’ (Evans and Green 2006:160). In other words knowledge related to the words and phrases which we try to understand is activated and indeed *required* in meaning construction. To take Taylor (2003) as an example, the concepts related to *week* are inextricably activated when we try to understand the word ‘Monday’. In Fillmore’s explanation (1975), the concepts related to *week* are the *frames* against which the word ‘Monday’ is understood. Another example that illustrates the importance of frame is the usage and disappearance of the word ‘phlogiston’ during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to Evans and Green (2006:229), the word ‘phlogiston’ referred to a colourless, odourless or weightless substance given off in burning by all flammable materials. This word is understood against the general knowledge (frame)

concerning burning all flammable materials. In the nineteenth century, this frame disappeared as it was proved to be an inaccurate combustion theory. Later, the word ‘phlogiston’ also disappeared as it could not stand alone without this frame. This example helps emphasize the importance of frames in understanding words or phrases.

Moreover, encyclopaedic knowledge evoked differs in different frames. For instance for the word ‘teeth’, the encyclopaedic knowledge activated in the frame, *human* may include ‘eating’, ‘brushing’, ‘natal teeth’, ‘neonatal teeth’, ‘dental care’ and ‘mammal’ whereas words evoked in the frame, *alligator* more probably include ‘sharp’, ‘carnivores’ and ‘dangerous’. In addition, the kinds of encyclopaedic knowledge activated differ across various discourse contexts. That is to say, the context of use guides meaning construction and thus members of a category differ in different discourse contexts. For instance category members of the phrase ‘fish and chips’ may differ between the contexts ‘a cooking class’ and ‘ordering food in a restaurant’. Category members of ‘car’ may differ between the contexts ‘buying and selling’ and ‘maintenance’. As Littlemore (2009:133) points out, ‘words are tools that cause listeners to activate certain areas of their knowledge network, with different areas activated to different degrees in different contexts of use’.

Indeed, frames are cultural-dependent as well as context-dependent. For instance the prototypical members of the category *elephant* may include ‘flapping ears’, ‘trunk’ and ‘ivory’. They are accepted as the more prototypical properties we know about elephants. Meanwhile, our extrinsic knowledge about elephants which is influenced by our cultures may lead to the manifestations of different members of *elephant*. People in tropical countries where elephants are domesticated (as in India) may activate words such as ‘forest’ and ‘working animals’ as members of the category *elephant* while words such as ‘zoo’ and ‘tourists’ tend to be more central to people who rarely see elephants in their daily lives. On some occasions, even proto-typicality may vary across cultures. For instance durian is a more prototypical fruit in some Asian countries while oranges and apples are more prototypical in other Asian countries (Stockwell 2002).

Similar to Fillmore’s semantic frame, Lakoff later developed a theory of category structure, named the theory of idealized cognitive models (ICMs). He argues that ICMs are complex structured systems of knowledge, guiding our categorization and reasoning in our wide range of experience instead of representing specific instances. He grouped the main ICMs into five types. They are the Image Schematic ICM, Metaphoric ICM, Propositional ICM, Metonymic ICM and Symbolic ICM. Among

these five types, the first two have been discussed earlier. The Propositional ICM consists of factual or conventional knowledge of the world which we need to understand other people's language. In Symbolic ICMs, Lakoff argues that grammatical constructions are not merely rules but carry cognitive meaning. The Metonymic ICM guides us to employ a single type to stand for the whole category. Similar to Fillmore's frame theory, these five ICMs are inevitably cultural-dependent (Littlemore 2009, Evans and Green 2006).

Moreover, cultural variation may occur in the metaphorical extensions of the same individual word as well. Wu (2008, cited in Littlemore 2009:98) observes that the body part 'head' can be metaphorically extended to a car (car head /nose of car) or a boat (boat head/nose of boat) which are not common in English. Yu (2000) observes that the palm of the hand is metaphorically extended to represent power and control in Chinese but not in English. On the other hand, as will be explained in Chapter Four the word 'muscle' can be metaphorically extended to represent power and influence in English which is unlikely in Chinese (See Chapter Four for details). Cognitive linguistics proposes to present the variations in a radial way such that the prototypical sense of an individual word, usually the basic sense, lies near the centre and the more figurative uses of the word radiating out towards the periphery (Taylor 2003,

Littlemore 2009). Linguistically, Cameron (2008) and Deignan (2005) observe that metaphorical uses of a word tend to occur in fixed grammatical patterns. Cameron (2006) refers to the lexico-grammatical fixedness of metaphorical patterns as a 'metaphoreme'. These 'metaphoremes' carry specific conceptual content, affective value and pragmatics. Therefore, she argues that a study of metaphor can help explore the value, evaluation and ways of thinking of the people speaking the metaphor.

In a similar vein, Wierzbicka (1997) argues that a study of the lexicon of a language may help reveal the encyclopaedic knowledge of the society where the language is spoken. In other words, words can be a good tool to reveal culture, that is, the social rituals of a society and also the ways of thinking of the peoples speaking the languages. For instance the words *bigos* (cabbage stew) in Polish, *sake* (a special alcoholic drink made from rice) in Japan and *marmalade* (a jam made from oranges) in English reveal the eating or drinking habits of the people living in these places. On the other hand, a word may also help reveal the social rituals attached to the word. As in the Japanese word, *miai*, which means 'arranged marriage', when Japanese people use the word *miai*, they think of the concept of this word as well as practising the social ritual attached to this word. The special lexicons which are particularly

important in revealing the culture of a language are called cultural key words (Wierzbicka 1997, Stubbs 2001). Stubbs (2001) investigates the keyword ‘heritage’ in the Oxford English Dictionary and observes that this keyword carries political and ideological connotations such as national unity. He also observes that most collocations of this keyword show positive connotations. Wierzbicka (1997) compares the concepts concerning ‘friendship’ among English, Russian, Polish and Australians by investigating the cultural key words concerning friends in these languages. In the English language, she observes that the collocations of the words ‘friends’ or ‘friendship’ are often related to qualities of a friend. She also observes that the descriptions concerning ‘friend’ or ‘friendship’ shifted from quality to the classes of a friend over time (please see Table 1.1a for more examples). Moreover, people in modern times may prefer a circle of friends to one true friend.

Table 1.1a Usage related to the concept friend or friendship in English

Usage of friendship in English
1. grading the quality: ‘best friend’, ‘close friend’
2. something permanent: ‘steadfast friendship’, ‘eternal friendship’, ‘constant friendship’, ‘faithful friendship’, ‘old friendship’
3. someone beloved: ‘sweet friends’, ‘loving friends’
4. someone you trust: ‘true friends’, ‘bosom friends’
5. concerning the class of your friends: ‘clergy friends’, ‘Christian friends’, ‘American friends’

(Adapted from Wierzbicka 1997)

In Russian, there are different types of words classifying the ‘closeness’ and ‘strength’ of friends (see Table 1.1b for more examples). Wierzbicka (1997) explains that Russians feared being betrayed and harmed by the government under the rule of Russian communism. These threats have led to a wider classification concerning the deepness of friendship in the Russian language.

Table 1.1b Usage related to the concept friend or friendship in Russian

Usage of friendship in Russian
concerning closeness:
-- ‘ <i>drug</i> ’: an extremely close spiritual friend, like a family member
-- ‘ <i>podruga</i> ’: a friend with a bonding less powerful than <i>drug</i> , but can still share life experience
-- ‘ <i>prijatel</i> ’: a distant friend to enjoy their company
-- ‘ <i>tovarisc</i> ’: in a political sense, a comrade
-- ‘ <i>rodnye</i> ’: one’s own people, close relatives

(Adapted from Wierzbicka 1997)

In the Australian context, the concepts related to friendship are manifested in their commonly used word, ‘mate’. Australians talk of ‘mateship’ instead of friendship. Unlike the frequent descriptions of the qualities of friendship in English, the Australians tend to consider a friend as a mate whose characters or styles are similar to each other. The most important feature of mates is that they spend a lot of time doing the same things together. Therefore, a mate is like a ‘mate-partner’ in the



Australian conception as the word entails mutual support, solidarity, loyalty and shared experiences.

### 1.5 The relationship between culture and embodied cognition

As noted in the previous section, culture exerts a considerable influence in meaning construction. In light of this, controversies concerning the relationship between metaphor and culture arise. The points of view concerning this issue can be divided into two main streams: the cognitive view of culture (exemplified by Kovecses 1999) and the cultural view of mind (exemplified by Shore 1996). These schools of thought differ with respect to the question of whether metaphor constitutes or merely reflects cultural models. Taking the cognitive view of culture, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003) claim that basic experience and abstract concepts need to be structured metaphorically through our embodied experience, thus cultural models, especially for abstract concepts are constituted by conceptual metaphor. Similarly, Kovecses (2005) argues that our experiences are organized and categorized as 'frames' (or 'cultural models' in Holland and Quinn's term) and the frames which are related to abstract concepts can only be understood metaphorically, or in other words via our embodied experience. However, anthropologists such as Holland and Quinn (1991, 1987) argue that cultural models are presupposed, taken-for-granted models that

emerged literally from certain basic social experiences that we learnt from our infantile period. In other words they believe that cultural models are distinctive from conceptual metaphor and that conceptual metaphor merely helps reflect pre-existing cultural models.

These two views express different interpretations of the concept *marriage*. Quinn (1991) suggests that the notion of marriage is structured by the American cultural conception of love. Moreover, no metaphor is needed for the abstract concept *love* to emerge. It emerges literally from our basic experience with our parents. Conceptual metaphor only reflects the pre-existing, expectational cultural models of how we view marriage. In contrast, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) and Kovecses (2005) argue that *love* is an abstract concept, and thus the notion of marriage needs to be understood via conceptual metaphor. Moreover, they interviewed some university students concerning their concepts about marriage and love. Their responses in relation to these two topics include '*ultimate bond*', '*They've tied the knot*' and '*They broke up*'. Their responses indicate that these two notions are realized by a generic level conceptual metaphor NON-PHYSICAL UNITY IS PHYSICAL UNITY. It means that marriage and love are viewed as a physical unity of objects which can be shared, are beneficial to each other and are long-lasting. According to the cognitive view of

culture, non-physical unity is an abstract concept which cannot be derived from our infantile experience. This concept needs to be structured via metaphorical mapping with physical unity which we often encounter in our physical experience.

Although it is undeniable that embodied experience helps structure our abstract concepts, bodily experience does not just emerge from sensory-motor experiences since we are constrained by our social and cultural environment. It means that it is impossible to separate sensory-motor experience from environmental factors. We cannot therefore assume meaning construction occurs exclusively in our mind. Culture, body and mind are inseparable (Gibbs 1999). Our embodied experience includes our interactions with our social environments which are constrained by sets of cultural beliefs and values. In other words although the generic metaphor NON-PHYSICAL UNITY IS PHYSICAL UNITY may help prove that the notions of marriage and love need to be structured via our embodied experience, the importance of culture still cannot be downgraded or ignored in the process of understanding these notions. Taking ANGER IS HEAT IN A CONTAINER as an example, Gibbs (1999) explains that in addition to the correlation of the physiological experience (feeling hot) with anger, the emotion is socially understood. In other words how we view and respond to events that make us angry is shaped by various social factors such as the

event itself, our past history of incidents that made us angry, the socially accepted behaviours towards anger and so on. These factors are all culturally-related, affecting our embodied experience towards anger and the formation of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT IN A CONTAINER. Likewise, Kimmel (2004) argues, ‘how people experience and cognize their body is also shaped by culture.’ He reports a study conducted by Briggs showing that the American idiom ‘let off steam’ is absent in Inuit since showing a latent feeling of anger is regarded as deviant behaviour among Inuit adults. He explains that the suppression of the physiological feeling, anger, derived from this cultural ideology, may in turn lead to the absence of the idiom ‘let off steam’ among Inuits. In other words, people’s learnt attitudes towards anger have in turn affected their embodied experience.

Yu (2008) also argues that our cultural understanding may constrain metaphorical mapping processes. In mapping processes, there can be many possible options concerning which aspects of the embodied experience can be mapped onto the target. In the selection process, our culture will filter and constrain which aspects can be mapped onto the target domain. In analyzing the complex metaphor DIGNITY IS FACE in British and Chinese languages, Yu (2008) points out that the metaphor is shorthand for the complex metaphor DIGNITY IS FACE AS A VALUABLE POSSESSION in

which the correspondences such as, ‘how face can stand for dignity’, ‘how face is regarded as valuable possession’ and ‘how face is related to feeling’ are all culturally filtered. In other words if there is a culture which conceptualizes dignity as locations or forces instead of faces as valuable objects, then the conceptual metaphor DIGNITY IS FACE AS A VALUABLE POSSESSION may not exist in that culture. As Charteris-Black (2003) argues, some conceptual metaphors require ‘cultural resonance’ and cannot be understood without knowledge of the set of beliefs and values of that language.

In the debate surrounding the notion *marriage*, it appears that Lakoff and Johnson presume embodied experience to be the only way for abstract concepts such as LOVE to be structured. As Shore (1996:53) comments, the embodiment thesis may underwrite the possibility of meaning construction in a variety of contexts. Shore (1996) argues that meaning construction (or ‘mental model’ in a cognitive linguistic term) is the internal representation of the external world. This involves different levels of abstraction and organization. Embodied cognition (‘foundational schemas’ in Shore’s term) is one of the ways. This situation resembles the construction of mind maps. Different people may construct different mind maps in order to remember a new place. In a similar vein, different people may have their own

idiosyncratic mental models. These idiosyncratic mental models become conventional models when they are shared by a community. Then some of these conventional models may further become ‘instituted models’ (or social institutions) after a long time. Rituals or scripts are examples of these highly structured social institutions. Shore points out that it is difficult to explain how these highly structured social institutions can be directly derived from our embodied experience. As Gibbs (1996:146) also put it, ‘we should of course not imagine the process of the emergence of cultural models in sequential steps, going from experiential basis to cultural model.’ The process that some of the foundational schemas become social institutions involves learning via social environments. Moreover, some of the social institutions may even be directly learnt or formed in social environments. The Japanese ritual ‘*miai*’ (arranged marriage) that has been discussed in the earlier section is one of the examples of this kind of highly structured social institutions. It is hard to explain how this social institution can arise directly from embodied experience. In short, embodied experience can only account for one of the levels of meaning construction, for example it may help to account for how image schemas such as CONTAINER, FRONT-BACK and the like are formed.

Furthermore, our embodied experience and thus metaphorical thought may even be shaped by culture. Sinha and Lopez (2000) investigate how different material cultures have affected the formation of the container schema in Zapotec (a language spoken by the Zapotec tribe in Mexico) and Danish. In their study, they observed how Zapotec and Danish children responded differently in two tests, i) an action imitation task; and ii) a language comprehension task. In the two tests, while the children from both places were asked to imitate the researchers' actions or follow the researchers' instructions such as putting an object in a container (such as a basket or a cup), they observe that Danish children show canonical, socially standard responses (in European terms), that is placing the container with the cavity upward and the object inside. However, the Zapotec children ignore this standard. They may either put the container with the cavity upward or downward.

Sinha and Lopez explain that containers can be used with their cavities placed downward to cover objects as well as placed upward to contain objects among Zapotec people. The container schema is conceptualized as a fully enclosed stomach in Zapotec culture. Different from the embodied cognition that our thought is derived from our embodied experience, this example suggests that embodied experience can be embodied in culture, in this case, the formation of CONTAINER

schema is embodied in the material culture among the Zapotec people. In other words the relationship between embodied experience and culture is reciprocal; they may affect the formation of each other

In short, it is believed that conceptual metaphor helps, constitutes and reflects cultural model. As Gibbs (2008:391) puts it, ‘the conceptualized experiential basis and the emerging conceptual metaphors contribute to the basic schematic structure of the cultural models.’ Meanwhile, conceptual metaphor is cultural-filtered as embodied experience is constrained by our social and cultural environments. As we have seen, cultural influence on anger has led to the absence of ‘let off steam’ among the Inuit people. Moreover, as explained in the example concerning the formation of the CONTAINER schema among the Zapotec people, embodied experience may even be embodied in culture. Therefore, as Gibbs also puts it (1999:146), ‘what is conceptual about metaphor involves the significant aspects of cultural experience, some of which is even intimately related to our embodied behaviours.’

Concerning the formation of conceptual metaphor, it is believed that conceptual metaphors which are similar across cultures are the ones derived mainly from our embodied experience, for example the primary metaphors. These metaphors are believed to be shared across cultures because embodied experience is very much alike



across cultures. For instance AN ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER is a universal generic metaphor that anger is commonly conceptualized as a container across cultures. However, the linguistic descriptions describing details about the CONTAINER and the nature of anger may vary across cultures (See details of this example in Chapter Two).

To reiterate, the relationship between embodied experience and culture is reciprocal. That is embodied experience, conceptual metaphor and culture have affected the formation of each other. Therefore, in Kovecses' (2005) term, the study of metaphor is not simply cognitive but a cultural-cognitive approach.

## 1.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the central ideas of cognitive linguistics have been discussed. That is meaning construction is highly metaphorical and embodied. While discussing the challenges in relation to embodied cognition in CMT, it has been suggested that Grady's Primary Metaphor Theory and Fauconnier's Blending Theory may help complement the shortcomings of the Theory. Another major topic in cognitive linguistics, categorization, has also been discussed. It has been emphasized that meaning construction is a dynamic process which involves our encyclopaedic knowledge. Therefore, categorization and conceptual metaphors are not fixed

entities. As encyclopaedic knowledge varies across cultures, some specific lexicons can be studied as cultural key words in order to look at the ways of thinking, attitudes and values of the people using these words. Finally, it has been explained that culture is related to embodied experience in four ways: i) abstract cultural models such as ‘good’, ‘bad’ and ‘love’ are mainly derived via embodied experience; ii) meanwhile, culture constrains the formation of embodied experience; iii) some cultural models need to be learnt in social contexts and are reflected in conceptual metaphor; iv) some embodied experience and thus the conceptual metaphors may even be embodied in culture.

To reiterate with Cameron’s words (2008:65), ‘the possible reasons for speaking metaphorically refer to bodily, cognitive, linguistic, social and cultural variables’. Given that culture is an important element in conceptual metaphor, in the next chapter, aspects of culture in conceptual metaphor and the ways to compare cultural differences are discussed. In addition, another important tenet of CMT, its ideological nature, is discussed as well. In the course of discussing the ideological functions of conceptual metaphor, the ways in which how cultural knowledge is employed as an ideological tool in conceptual metaphor will also be raised.

## Chapter 2: Culture in Conceptual Metaphor

### Introduction

As explained in Chapter One, the study of metaphor is cultural-cognitive. In this chapter, cultural variations in conceptual metaphor are discussed. To begin with, general views on the definition of culture are given. Following this is an explanation of the ways to measure cultural variations in conceptual metaphor. The final part of this chapter focuses on the ideological nature of conceptual metaphor and explains how the implementation of cultural elements in conceptual metaphor can achieve persuasive ends.

### 2.1 General views on culture

As Raymond Williams, one of the important founders of cultural studies, describes, ‘culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language (1987:87). It is difficult to give an exhaustive definition of culture. In general, culture is viewed as the particular ways of life shared by members in a discourse community (Taylor 1871, cited in Sardar and Van Loon 1997, Holland and Quinn 1987, Hofstede 2005, Hill 2009). It is worth noting that culture is not only in its singular form, symbolizing national culture only. It is also in its plural form,

‘cultures’, as the size of the groups can vary. That is to say the size of a cultural group can be demarcated in terms of gender, age, social class level, organizational (or corporate) level, interests or generation level. Therefore, we have political culture, business culture, teen culture, pop culture and the like. Moreover, these cultures are diachronic rather than synchronic as their work and practice can vary over time. As Hall (1996) points out new forms of culture, such as teen culture and cyber world culture, may emerge in different periods of time, apart from the one ascribed by the majority (Kovecses 2005, Hofstede 2005, Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner 1995).

On the other hand, Storey (1996) points out that the shared ways of life within these cultural groups can be any form of activities we practise in our everyday life. In other words the ordinary aspects of life, such as artefacts, sports, holiday, festivals, music, films, language, dress codes and the like can all be the constituent elements of a culture. They can be viewed and analyzed as if they are pieces of text which help shape and reveal the culture of a community. Hofstede (2005:6-8) classifies human experience into four layers of an onion (please see the explanation below). The outer three layers are the visible *practices* in our everyday life. They are named ‘symbols’, ‘heroes’ and ‘rituals’. These practices are governed by the innermost

invisible layer, the 'value' layer. It is also the 'value' layer that reveals the cultural meaning of the practices.

1. *Symbols*: The most superficial layer including words, gestures, pictures and any objects carrying particular meaning shared by a culture.
2. *Heroes*: Persons who are alive, dead, real or imaginary who possess characteristics highly prized in a culture. For instance our parents, a well-known president in the country or even Barbie and Batman.
3. *Rituals*: The collective activities which are socially essential in order to reach desired ends such as holding a business meeting to reinforce group cohesion.
4. *Values*: The core part of a culture. They determine our tendency to prefer certain states of affair over others. For example the preference of good over evil, clean over dirty or moral over immoral.

Similarly, Trompenaars and his colleagues (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1995 & 2004, Trompenaars and Woolliams 2003) distinguish three layers of culture which also resemble the skins of an onion. The outermost layer relates to the visual reality such as behaviour, clothes and food. They are the explicit ways a culture manifests itself. The middle layer refers to the norms and values that a cultural group holds. Similar to the 'values' layer proposed by Hofstede (2005), the innermost layer is an

invisible layer explaining the actual principles directing the manifestation of the cultural practices. This layer consists of basic assumptions, many series of routines and methods we develop to deal with regular problems in our daily lives. They are so basic that we apply them naturally without thinking or knowing how we can do it.

In a simpler way, Hill (2009) views culture as a system of *norms* and *values* shared among a group of people. According to Hill (2009:116), ‘*values* are abstract ideals about what a society believes to be good, right, and desirable. *Norms* are social rules and guidelines that prescribe appropriate behavior in particular situations.’ He distinguishes two categories of *norms*, namely *folkways* and *mores* that resemble the three practices classified by Hofstede (symbols, heroes and rituals). These norms are the outward expressions of the deeper values. For example when meeting a foreign business executive, a Japanese executive will present to that person a business card and bow. Through these rituals, the Japanese person lets the foreigner know his position which is printed on the card and shows the foreign business executive his or her respect. Hill also points out that some of the *mores* are included in laws in some countries. For example in Saudi Arabia, drinking alcohol is viewed as violating important social *mores* and people who do this may be imprisoned.

By and large, the above categories can be broadly divided into two parts: i) the visible shared practices such as behaviours, norms and rules people practise in their daily lives; and ii) the invisible internal values directing the manifestation of these practices and indicating the evaluative stance of the cultural group. Moreover these manifestations of culture may vary across cultures. Among all the methods of measuring cross-cultural variations, the classification of cross-cultural variations devised by Hofstede (2005) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997) are probably the most commonly cited methods (please see Table 2.1 on p.71 for a general introduction of these types of method. In both methods, the criteria measuring cross-cultural variations are called ‘dimensions’. As explained by Hofstede (2005), ‘a dimension is an aspect of a culture that can be measured relative to other cultures.’ As shown in Table 2.1 below, in Hofstede’s classification, there are five dimensions against which cross-cultural variations can be compared. In Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner’s classification, there are seven dimensions. Despite the popularity of the two classifications, it is noted that both of them were generated from research conducted in business organizations only. This suggests that the results concerning the same dimensions in their classifications may differ if their studies are conducted in other contexts. In other words, their classifications are

not a fixed classification to measure cross-cultural variations in all circumstances.

They may be more applicable to how business people view these dimensions in their workplaces.

Table 2.1 Classifications of cross cultural variation

Hofstede's classification:	Trompenaars' and Hampden-Turner's classification:
i. power distance (from small to large)	i. universalism versus particularism
ii. collectivism versus individualism	ii. individualism versus collectivism
iii. femininity versus masculinity	iii. neutral versus emotional
iv. uncertainty avoidance (from weak to strong)	iv. specificity versus diffuseness
v. long-term versus short-term orientation	v. achievement versus ascription
	vi. sequential versus synchronic
	vii. internal versus external control

(Adapted From Hofstede 2005 and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997)

Apart from the above two dimensions which help measure cross-cultural variations, many linguists have suggested different ways of measuring cross-cultural variations in conceptual metaphor. In the following sections, these methods are discussed.

## 2.2 Cross-cultural variation in conceptual metaphor

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a study of metaphor may also help reveal the ways of thinking, values and attitudes of the people speaking the metaphor (Cameron 2008). In the research about how Russian and American students talk about the



abstract concept, 'honesty', in examinations, Cienki (1999) observes that Russian students prefer to describe honesty with the metaphors for *porjadochnost* ('a broad space, does not have clearly defined boundaries') than the metaphor for *chestnost* ('straight'). Cienki ascribes such preference to the influence of social norms and history in Russia. According to the Russians' social practice, Russian students usually study in groups and they rely on each other. Therefore, they may see cheating as merely helping their fellow schoolmates and it is rude to tell the school about their schoolmates' cheating behaviour. Moreover, the social history of the communist system values the importance of not telling on others, especially the members in their groups. Another example of how social history of a country can affect its metaphor use is found in Bielenia-Grajewska's (2009) research into the metaphorical vocabulary of investment banking. Since financial products and services were not introduced to Polish customers before 1990, Bielenia-Grajewska observes that the term 'load fund' which is common in Spanish and German is absent in Polish.

Concerning the ways of measuring cross-cultural variations in conceptual metaphor, Emanatian (1999) proposes the notion that metaphors are 'congruence by degree'. In his research comparing the metaphors concerning sex and lust, Emanatian observes

many similarities and differences in the metaphors given by Chagga people and English people. He agrees that many abstract concepts (or abstract cultural models) are motivated metaphorically via our embodied experience. These conceptual metaphors show high congruence (high congruent metaphors) across cultures since physiological experience is much alike across cultures. He also identifies variations or even different metaphors between Chagga people and English people. He named these different metaphors as the low congruent metaphors. These low congruent or different metaphors reflect the specific cultural models in different cultures.

Deignan et al (1997) noted that cross cultural variations in conceptual metaphor mainly manifested themselves in the following three ways i) same conceptual metaphor and different linguistic expressions; ii) different conceptual metaphor; iii) words and expressions with similar literal meanings but different metaphorical extensions. Kovecses (2005) grouped the cultural causes leading to these variations into two main types: ‘differential experience’ and ‘differential cognitive styles’. Examples of ‘differential experience’ include physical setting, social history, social context, folk theories, personal interests and the like. They are indeed examples of the internal and external manifestations of a culture (See section 2.1 for details). Sub-sections 2.3.1 to 2.3.3 discuss how ‘differential experience’ affects and is

revealed in conceptual metaphor in the above three ways (suggested by Deignan et al 1997). As it is difficult to account for all the cultural factors in conceptual metaphor, the cultural factors discussed in the following sections include folk theories, physical environment, cultural behaviour and social setting. On the other hand, the influence of ‘differential cognitive style’ is discussed in more detail in section 2.3.5.

### 2.2.1 Same conceptual metaphor and different linguistic expressions

As mentioned earlier, cultural difference in the same conceptual metaphor can be observed in the choice of linguistic expressions. Taking the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT IN A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER as an example, Kovecses (2005) observes that this conceptual metaphor is shared by many languages such as Chinese, Japanese and German wherein human bodies or organs are conceptualized as containers. However, differences are observed in the linguistic expressions realizing this conceptual metaphor. Matsuki (1995) mentions that *Hara* (belly) is a specific container for the storage of anger in Japanese people whereas Dobrovol’skij (2005) observes that the *gall/bile* is the container for storing anger in German. Moreover Yu (1995) observes that Chinese people perceive heat or anger as ‘qi’, a hot gas but

not as a hot liquid as among the English. They observe that folk theories in these cultures have given rise to these differences.

According to Dobrovol'skij (2005:132), the Japanese think that '*Hara* (belly) is the location of the mind, of a person's inner self, the centre of mental energy and emotions.' The thought in *Hara* is considered to be more important than the thought in our heads in Japanese culture. Therefore, Japanese people use *Hara* but not any other organs as a container to store anger. On the other hand, Europeans are deeply affected by the humoral doctrine that the gall/bile is the container for anger. As he explains,

“The four humoral fluids were believed to regulate the vital processes in the human body. From this followed the doctrine of the four temperaments: the four fluids defined the four prototypical temperaments, which were the choleric, the melancholic, the sanguine, and the phlegmatic temperament. The choleric temperament manifested itself in anger and irascibility of a person's character. This temperament was connected to one of the four fluids, namely to the yellow bile. Within this edifice of the humoral doctrine, Anger was seen as overproduction of yellow bile.” (Dobrovol'skij 2005:124)

Yu (1995) explains that anger is conceptualized as a hot gas ('qi') among Chinese due to the influence of Chinese philosophy and Chinese medical theories. Similarly,

Matsuki (1995) explains that the cultural symbolic meaning of *Hara* among Japanese is also derived from ancient Chinese medical theories.

Another example showing the influence of folk theories in the choice of linguistic expressions can be observed in the Chinese and English data in my study. The conceptual metaphor REVIVING THE ECONOMY IS HEALING A PATIENT is shared in Chinese and English economics. In both corpora, the lexical item ‘injection’ is observed. This lexical item reveals that to strengthen a weak economy is conceptualized as healing a patient. For instance

8     A shot in the arm for those **economies** boosts the UK economy. (UKGC\_Nov/06)

530 The recent trip of Bush to India has given an injection to strengthen the heart of the Indian stock market and **its economy**.  
(最近 布殊 印度 之行，对 印度 股市 及 经济 更 打了一支 强心针。)(HKEJC\_Mar/06)

However in addition to ‘injection’, linguistic expressions which literally mean ‘reborn’ (*chóng shēng* ‘重生’), ‘emerge from the womb and bones are transplanted’ (*tuō tāi huàn gǔ*, ‘脱胎换骨’) and ‘bring the dying back to life’ (*qǐ sǐ huí shēng* ‘起死回生’) are observed in the Hong Kong data (please see examples in Table 2.2). These expressions reflect the concept of ‘physical rebirth’ in the alternative healing method which is derived from Chinese folk Taoism. According to folk Taoism, people can become immortal or physically reborn from death through internal alchemy, Chinese martial arts such as ‘qigong’, spiritual practices and Chinese traditional medicine.

Although the concept of physical rebirth has no scientific evidence, the concept of rebirth in these three expressions is metaphorically extended to describe a sudden change or incredible improvements. In English, the metaphorical meaning of these three expressions can be translated as ‘being a different person’. As shown by the examples below, these expressions are employed to indicate the dramatic and powerful changes of the **economies** in the Chinese data of my study.

Table 2.2 Examples of the REBIRTH metaphor

From the Chinese data	Translation of the concordance lines
406 ...令 日本 经济 未能 脱胎换骨... (HKEJC_Feb/06)	... therefore the <b>Japanese economy</b> cannot be ‘reborn’ ...
480...这是 相关国家 经济 、 财政 脱胎换骨，还是 ... (HKEJC_Mar/06)	... Is it the ‘rebirth’ of the <b>economy</b> and inland revenue of the related countries, or ...
477...他 的 自由基金 促使 东欧多国 变天 及 经济 重生... (HKEJC_Mar/06)	... his free fund has facilitated great changes in many East European countries and <u>the rebirth</u> of their <b>economies</b> .
439...日圆大贬值 对 日本经济 确具 起死回生 之 功 ... (HKEJC_July/06)	... the depreciation of the yen <u>has brought the dying Japanese economy to life</u> ...

### 2.2.2 Different metaphor

In explaining the different conceptualizations of HAPPINESS among Chinese and American people, Yu (1995) observes that the Americans depict happiness as BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND. In addition to this metaphor, the Chinese may also conceptualize happiness as HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART which is not common among the Americans. He attributes the manifestation of this special conceptual

metaphor to the conventional behaviour concerning emotions among Chinese people. According to Yu (1995), Chinese people tend to keep their feelings in the heart and thus prefer to metaphorize their feeling with static objects ('flowers in the heart'). The Americans, who appear to be more extrovert, may prefer to express their feelings more outwardly through certain actions ('being off the ground'). In other words, the introvert and extrovert ways of expressing emotions between the Chinese and Americans respectively have led to the occurrence of the two different conceptual metaphors in their languages.

In the data of my study, it is observed that the conceptual metaphor SPECULATION IS FRYING THE MARKET is specific to the Chinese data but not the English data. This example helps illustrate the influence of our daily practices on conceptual metaphor. In this conceptual metaphor, markets are metaphorized as food and speculation is metaphorized as 'frying the markets'. Accordingly, speculators are called 'fryers', (*chǎo' jia* '炒家'), just as we call the people who write, writers. The heat of speculation is 'in the heat of frying the market' (*chǎo' fēng* '炒风') (See examples in Table 2.3 below).

This alternative metaphor has its source in the common cooking practices of Chinese people. Chinese people believe that the heat generated by 'frying' (*chǎo* '炒') the

food in a hot wok can enhance the taste of the food. However, the food may be overheated or even burnt as it needs to be fried in a short period of time. This cultural cooking practice is employed to describe the hope of risk speculators making windfall profits in a short period time. Moreover, this example also helps explain the fuzziness in categorization due to cross cultural variations. As just mentioned, Chinese people may conceptualize an ‘overheated’ economy as overheated food, however, an overheated economy in the English context more likely evokes a mechanistic imagery of the economy, that is, the overheated economy is an overheated engine or machine.

Table 2.3 Concordance lines of the conceptual metaphor SPECULATION IS FRYING THE MARKET

From the Chinese data	Translation of the concordance lines
27... 炒 人民币 升值 热潮 继续 升温 。(HKEJC_Jan/06)	... the heat of <u>frying</u> the revaluation of the renminbi (yuan) continues to rise.
5... 香港 虽然 奋勇 击退 <u>国际炒家</u> ... (HKEJC_Oct/06)	... although Hong Kong strived hard to defeat the <u>international fryers</u>
67... <u>内地炒家</u> 的手法 不少都似曾相识... (HKEJC_May/06)	... Many methods of the <u>Mainland fryers</u> are very similar ...
84 ...中国银监会 针对 房地产市场 <u>炒风</u> ...(HKEJC_May/06)	... The China Banking Regulatory System has targetted <u>the heat of frying the property market</u> ...

Taking the economic concept concerning ‘speculation’ as an example again, another different conceptual metaphor, LOSING SPECULATORS ARE CRABS is observed in my Chinese data. It is observed that the literal word ‘crab’ which originally meant a kind of seafood is also metaphorically extended to describe the poor condition of



speculation. For instance speculators holding items whose prices dropped sharply are called ‘crabs’ (*xiè* ‘蟹’). Accordingly, items that depreciate sharply are named ‘crab items’ (*xiè huò* ‘蟹货’) (See examples in Table 2.4 below). Moreover, there can be different types of crabs such as ‘stocks crabs’ (*gǔ xiè* ‘股蟹’) and ‘real estate crabs’ (*lóu xiè* ‘楼蟹’). These terms are common colloquial terms in Hong Kong economic discourse. The metaphorical extension of the literal word, ‘crab’ (*xiè* ‘蟹’), and its associated different conceptual metaphor is derived from the food culture and physical setting of Hong Kong and China. Due to the coastal location of Hong Kong and China, seafood such as crab is a common and favourite dish in the country. As the claws of the crabs are very sharp, Chinese people usually tie the crabs with hay tightly before steaming them. This cultural cooking method for crabs in Hong Kong and China is extended to describe the poor condition of the losing speculators who are the ‘crabs’ ‘being tied up’ (*bèi bǎng* ‘被绑’) by their items. They can do nothing but hope the values of their items will rise.

Table 2.4 Examples of the conceptual metaphor LOSING SPECULATORS ARE CRABS

From the Hong Kong data	Translation of the concordance lines
3...相信 今天 唔少 杜拜人 已做咗 股蟹 ... (HKEJC_May/06)	... it is believed that today many people from Dubai have become ‘stocks crabs’ ...
5...令 首轮买家 未入伙 便惨变「楼蟹」。 (HKEJC_May/06)	... leading to the early buyers becoming ‘property crabs’ before they can move into the new flats ...
2... 但高位 蟹货不少... (HKEJC_Jun/06)	... but there are many ‘crab items’ which have a high price ...
5 ... 香港 炒家 已非 第一次 在 炒卖 澳门物业 上 被绑 ... (HKEJC_Jul/06)	... it is not the first time that the Hong Kong ‘fryers’ are being tied up for frying the Macau real estate ...

### 2.2.3 Words and expressions with similar literal meanings but different metaphorical meanings

As mentioned in the previous section, the food culture concerning the cooking method of crabs in Hong Kong has influenced the metaphorical extension of the word ‘crab’ in Chinese economic discourse. Henderson’s research (1994) explains how the concepts related to parenthood in Iran and Britain have caused different metaphorical extensions of the same literal expression ‘parent company’ in Farsi and English. In both languages, the term ‘parent company’ refers to the importance of the holding company to its subsidiaries. Since the encyclopaedic knowledge concerning parenthood differs in these two places, the metaphorical extensions of the same term ‘parent company’ differ in the two languages. In Farsi, the term ‘parent company’ refers to the ‘holding company’ as the parent who supplies raw materials. However, this term refers to the power of the holding company over other subsidiaries or organizations in English. Therefore, people in Iran prefer to translate the term ‘parent company’ as ‘mother company’ in Farsi. Another example of different metaphorical extensions of the same word can be found in the conceptual metaphor THE NATION IS A FAMILY. In this conceptual metaphor, Lakoff (2002, cited in Cienki 2005) observes that the two idealized concepts about family in the United States are metaphorically extended to imply two different political world views, that is the views

of the nation as a family led by ‘a strict father’ and ‘nurturant parents’. According to Lakoff, the ‘strict father model’ views the nation as a family experiencing all sorts of difficulties and dangers in the world. The leader in this nation (or family) is a strict father with authority. He is the breadwinner that people (or the mother and children) should follow and respect. Strength is a highly valued feature in this model. Linguistic expression realizing this view includes ‘an *upstanding* citizen’. In ‘the nurturant parent model’, nations are families with two parents sharing the household responsibilities together as a team. The most important value of this model is related to the ‘caring of others and the kinds of things to be cared’. Linguistic expressions realizing this view include ‘a person with stunted moral growth requires further moral *development*’.

To reiterate, the above examples help reveal that cultural factors such as conventional behaviours, social history or physical environments may give rise to variations in conceptual metaphor.

#### 2.2.4 Difference in saliency

Apart from the above three ways of measuring cultural variations in conceptual metaphor and its linguistic expressions, cultural variations can also be observed in

terms of saliency, that is, frequency of occurrence. The difference in saliency can be measured in two ways, i) different saliency of the conceptual metaphor used across cultures and; ii) different saliency in cognitive styles (Deignan 2003, Gibbs 1999, Kovecses 2005, Boers 2003).

#### a. Different saliency in conceptual metaphor across cultures

Deignan (2003) notes that different cultures may prefer different source domains and thus some conceptual metaphors are more salient than others in different cultures. In other words, the frequency of the conceptual metaphor used in different cultures helps reveal the cultural practices of the people. Kovecses (2005:11) explains the difference in saliency in terms of ‘main meaning foci’. He explains that each source domain has a major theme (main meaning foci). For example ‘heat’ is always employed to describe ‘intensity’ while ‘journey’ is always applied to ‘love’. The main meaning foci are cultural sensitive such that they tell us the basic and central knowledge of the source domains which is agreed upon by a certain community. For instance the target domain LIFE is more often conceptualized in terms of game, journey and war in America whereas the Hmong speakers in Laos and Thailand conceptualize LIFE as ‘string’ that can be cut and broken (Kovecses 2005:71).

Deignan (2003) observes that many religious metaphorical idioms related to Catholicism are salient in Spanish. In contrast, they are not common in English because the majority of British are not Catholic. While investigating the use of sports metaphors in describing economics, Boers and Demecheleer (1997) show horse racing metaphors are more common in English while bullfighting metaphors are more common in Spanish (please see some examples below).

- English horse racing metaphor:

*'The Green Party was running neck and neck with the Communists.'*  
(= the competition is close toward the finish.)

-Spanish bullfighting metaphor:

*'Ver los toros desde la barrea'* = 'to watch the bulls from the fence'.  
(= remain neutral in an argument)

The higher frequency of horse racing and bullfighting metaphors in British and Spanish economic articles respectively reflects that the prototypical activities in these two cultures are different. Liu (2002) reports that sports metaphors are more common among Americans whereas food metaphors are more popular among Chinese. The difference suggests that the Americans are more interested in sports while the Chinese focus more on food and eating.

## b. Different saliency in cognitive style

Boers and Littlemore (2000) explain that cognitive styles are the approaches human beings adopt to organize and process information. Kovecses (2005) divides cultural variations in cognitive styles into four main types, i) experiential focus; ii) viewpoint preference; iii) prototypes and frames; and iv) metaphor versus metonymy preference. These differences are in turn reflected in and affect conceptual metaphor. Concerning differential experiential focus, he says that ‘different peoples may be attuned to different bodily functioning in relation to a target domain’ (p.246). As explained in the conceptual metaphor THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER, Chinese people conceptualize the target domain, anger, as ‘gas’ while English people conceptualize anger as ‘heat’ (please see details in section 2.2.2). By differential viewpoint preference, Kovecses means that different cultures prefer different ways of seeing the same things. For example some people may take the side of a tree that is facing them as the front while other people may take the other side which is away from them as the front. These differences of how people see things are in turn reflected in their metaphors. Concerning different saliency in prototypes and frames, in section 2.2.4a it has been explained that Britain and Spain have different prototypical sports which are reflected in the frequency of the

conceptual metaphors. Moreover, the frames against which the same metaphors occur can be different across cultures. Comparing the conceptual metaphor LUST IS HEAT between the English and the Chagga (an African language) as an example, Kovecses observes that the English conceptualize (or frame) lust both in males and females but the Chagga only conceptualize lust in males. Finally, Kovecses observes that some people or countries may prefer to use metaphor rather than metonymy and vice versa. In the research concerning the figurative use of oral body parts in English and Malay, Charteris-Black (2003) observes that the pervasiveness of metaphor and metonymy in these two languages is different. He observes that the English tend to use more metonymy while the Malaysians use more metaphors. He attributes the more pervasive use of metaphor in Malay to their more covert characters. As he explains, metaphor creates a greater distance than metonymy in communication. Therefore Malay tends to utilize more metaphors to help save face in communication.

Apart from these four types of cognitive style, cognitive styles can also be explained from the psychological perspective. In this perspective, the two main cognitive styles which vary along two continuums are the ‘analytic/holistic’ continuum and the ‘verbalizer/imager’ continuum (Boers and Littlemore 2000, Nisbett 2005). A more

detailed explanation on the holistic versus analytic cognitive styles is given in Chapter Five.

#### 2.2.5 Difference in value judgement

Finally, Boer (2003) points out that cultural variation in conceptual metaphor may manifest itself in how different cultures evaluate the same source and target domains.

For example the GOVERNMENT IS A MACHINE metaphor may evoke a negative judgment of connoting the government as impersonal and inflexible. In contrast, in countries where governments are authoritative, this metaphor can carry a positive connotation of appreciating the government as effective and smooth running.

Charteris-Black (2003) also supports the idea that conceptual metaphor reflects the evaluative stance of the culture. For example the conceptual metaphor BLACK IS BAD may merely apply to some communities because other communities may not evaluate the colour 'black' negatively. He further points out that the 'foot metaphor' in Malay usually connotes a negative evaluation because foot is located spatially at the lower part of the body. Therefore, in terms of language pedagogy, Littlemore (2003) reminds us that raising cultural awareness of metaphors helps decrease misunderstandings between lecturers and international students.



As metaphors are evaluative, Mangham (1996:28-29) argues that ‘we not only import structure from the source domain, we also import the way we evaluate.’ Taking how the mechanistic and the organic metaphors conceptualize organizations as examples, Mangham points out that the mechanistic metaphors evaluate people at work as machines. That is to say people at work should be impersonal, rule-based and efficient. On the other hand, the organic metaphors treat an organization as having life and valuing the effectiveness of people.

To recapitulate, on a linguistic level cross cultural variations can mainly be observed from i) the same conceptual metaphors realized by different linguistic expressions; ii) their alternative metaphors; iii) the metaphorical extensions of the same literal words and; and iv) different saliency in conceptual metaphor and cognitive styles. Moreover, as culture carries an evaluative stance, different cultures may hold different value-judgments for the same conceptual metaphor.

According to Lakoff and John (1980, 2003) conceptual metaphor is persuasive and ideological due to the highlighting and hiding effects. In this sense, metaphor is pragmatic in the way that writers or speakers can select a conceptual metaphor over the others in order to deliver their intentions. As culture is evaluative, writers can implement the cultural elements that favour their point of view in their metaphors.

In other words metaphor is not only cultural–cognitive, it is also pragmatic. Metaphor is not only experientially motivated by what culture it is inextricably interrelated to. At a pragmatic level, metaphor is also motivated by the conscious goals of the writers to achieve their persuasive ends (Charteris-Black 2004).

In the final section of this chapter, this pragmatic nature of conceptual metaphor and culture will be discussed in further detail. Then examples are provided of how writers or speakers integrate selected cultural factors into their metaphors to achieve their persuasive ends.

### 2.3 The ideological nature of conceptual metaphor

It is generally agreed that metaphor is a good tool for persuasion (Charteris-Black 2004, Goatly 1997, Ortony 1996). As mentioned by Ricoeur (1975), Aristotle holds that the theory of rhetoric (figures of speech) is a theory of argumentation. Metaphor was originally an oratorical technique and addressed the persuasive power of metaphors in successful public oratory. It is also noted in Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory that some aspects of the source domains will be automatically highlighted or hidden in the mapping process. This highlighting and hiding nature have made conceptual metaphor ideological, in that the choice of

metaphors can influence our perception or decision making upon certain issues (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 2003). Politicians may present a biased view of a situation by using metaphors deliberately (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 2003, Deignan 2005, Knowles and Moon 2006). As Teeffelen (1994) and Billig and Macmillan (2005) argue, politicians can create a stance favouring their own groups or suppress others by emphasizing and de-emphasizing certain elements and linkages with the use of metaphor. Fairclough (1995) also argues that metaphors are a powerful weapon to maintain and consolidate the power of one group over others. As Lakoff and Johnson (1991:1) comment, ‘metaphors can kill’. Meanwhile metaphor helps to save face. As mentioned earlier, metaphor can create a greater space, therefore it is useful in negotiations to avoid stating a stance explicitly that causes confrontation or argument (Charteris-Black 2004).

Many linguists attribute the persuasive power of metaphor to its emotive effect and ability to build affective relationships between speakers and listeners. Ortony (1996) explains the emotive power of metaphor in his three theses named *inexpressibility*, *compactness* and *vividness*. Ortony points out in his inexpressibility thesis that some thoughts can only be expressed and conceived metaphorically due to the ‘deficiency’ in literal language to fully describe an object, event or experience. Moreover,

experience is a continuum. It is hard to use literal language to conceive of every detail of our experience. Only metaphor can supplement this deficiency. In his compactness thesis, Ortony explains that metaphors can help compress our experience in a few words but the meaning can still reach us precisely through a process named *particularization*. It saves us from using long chunks of literal expressions to explain the same scenario. In this process, hearers will automatically find out the distinctive set of features described in the metaphors and eliminate the tension arising from the other opposing features. Moreover, metaphors are closer to perceived experience and thus give a more vivid effect. As a result, the vividness of metaphors arouses the emotions of the readers or listeners. Simms (2003) supports the idea that metaphor can evoke emotions. He argues that metaphor results in a pleasing effect when readers can finally discover what the writers want to deliver in the metaphor. Moreover metaphorical language stimulates the emotions of hearers through violating the usual literal meaning of a word. On the other hand, metaphor can develop intimacy between the speakers and the listeners. Cameron (2008) points out that the within-group metaphors such as ‘porridge’ and ‘screws’ in prison slang help sustain intimacy and mark the identity of a group. Allbritton (1995) also mentions that

metaphor fosters intimacy by creating common ground between speakers and listeners.

### 2.3.1 Research on conceptual metaphor in political discourse

Much research of how ideological stance is delivered through conceptual metaphors is carried out, especially in political discourse. For instance Lu and Ahrens (2008) studied how the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING was framed by the former Taiwanese president Chiang Kai-shek extensively in his speeches in order to point out the destruction done by communism in China and the responsibility of the ROC to restore the whole entity of China. Lu and Ahrens also explain how another ex-president of the ROC, Chen Shui-bian, deliberately avoided the CONSTRUCTION metaphor, employing the JOURNEY metaphor more frequently in order to separate Taiwan from China and to persuade the Taiwanese to be forward-looking to the new journey of independence. Chiang and Duann (2007) examined the conceptual metaphors in describing the outbreak of SARS in three major broadsheet newspapers in Taiwan and China. They observed that the conceptual metaphor DISEASE IS WAR which conceptualized illness as a war was identified in the three newspapers. As the outbreak of SARS was conceptualized as a war, the management and strategies

handling the illness have become political. Charteris-Black (2006) explored how the politically right wing speeches given by the British Conservative Party and the British National Party employed the conceptual metaphors IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL DISASTER and BRITAIN IS A CONTAINER to persuade the reader to accept their objection to immigrants and promote the formation of the legitimacy of immigration controls. These two metaphors discourage empathy with the immigrants as they are conceptualized as inanimate objects or natural disasters such as floods. The disaster metaphors evoke fear of the immigrants and the need for Britain to defend against them. On the other hand, the CONTAINER metaphor helped conceptualize Britain as having an 'IN-OUT' boundary. Therefore it is reasonable for Britain to control immigration as immigrants are disasters affecting the safety of the container.

#### 2.4 Ideological nature of culture

Apart from conceptual metaphor, culture is ideological by nature as well. As explained in section 2.1, culture is the shared ways of life among the members of a group. Indeed, the shared ways of life not only symbolize the conventions, norms and values of a group but also help consolidate members in a group. As Hofstede points out (2005:4) culture is the 'collective programming of the mind which

distinguishes the member of one group or category of people from another' (p.5). Spencer-Oatey (2000:4) also explains that the fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural norms, basic assumptions and values shared by the group of people have asserted influence on each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other outsiders' behaviour. In other words culture sets not only our guidelines in our own everyday lives but also a frame of reference whereby different communities are employed to consolidate their groups and interpret others. Taking bullfighting activity in Spain and the dress codes of different cultural groups as examples, Spencer-Oatey (2004) points out that bullfighting is the prototypical activity representing Spain. At the same time, it also helps distinguish the brave image of the nation from other countries. Similarly, the dress codes among business people and teenagers signal which groups they belong to and help differentiate themselves from the non-members.

Anthropologists such as Hall (1996) and Storey (1996) also point out that ideology is an important component of a culture. Taking cultural works and productions as examples, Hall (1996) argues that they are not merely artefacts encoding a certain period of time. Through these works and productions, conventions and institutions valued by a community are slowly developed. As he (1996:26-7) claims,

‘Ideology is the mental frameworks - the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works.’

It means that any practices can become ideological, including the cultural practices of a group. Storey (1996) also points out that our everyday practices signify the identity of a group of people, and by which people develop their own communities.

As he argues, ‘culture is a terrain on which there takes place a continual struggle over meaning, in which subordinate groups attempt to resist the imposition of meanings which bear the interests of dominant groups’ (p.4). In this sense, culture can be defined politically because it can be deployed to consolidate a group by providing certain codes of practice for the members to follow and maintain its dominance in the society as a whole.

Summing up the views mentioned above, culture not only refers to the shared practices of a discourse community. It also symbolizes and helps consolidate the groups. It is also a frame of reference to evaluate the behaviours of its group members or distinguish the outsiders. Therefore, skilfully implementing cultural knowledge into metaphors can capture the resonance and even influence the decision making process of the audience of that cultural group. The following subsections



discuss three examples of how politicians exploit cultural knowledge such as habitats (in terms of their geographical location and dwelling) and national hobbies in their metaphors to achieve their political ends.

## 2.5 Ideological functions of culture in conceptual metaphor

### a. The desert metaphor

Teeffelen (1994) studied how fictions describing Middle East problems have employed the desert metaphor to depict political situations. Desert, a dominant cultural factor as well as a geographical feature in the Middle East, is a part of the life of the Middle Eastern people (1994:387). Teeffelen discovers that the desert metaphor is frequently employed in some fiction to describe the opposition of the Middle East against the West. Taking the book *The Fifth Horseman* by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, which is about the Palestinian – Israeli conflict, as an example, Teeffelen describes how the authors employ the cultural image of desert among the Middle Eastern people as a metaphor to create an opposition between the Middle East and the West, which is an opposition of the less developed world against the more developed, settled world. As Teeffelen argues, the authors of fiction exploit the cultural image of the desert as it ‘generates cultural resonances which amplify the divide between the western self and the non-western other’ (p.386).

Moreover, in the fiction Teeffelen investigated, the desert is metaphorized as flat, lacking fertility and disoriented due to its geographical features. On the other hand, the authors also draw on the positive cultural meanings of the desert which originated from the Romanticist tradition to metaphorize spiritual lives. Desert is metaphorized as a source for quietness, meditation, greatness and prophecy (p.389).

#### b.Sports metaphor

Sports, a cultural production, are always regarded as an icon of a country, such as soccer among European countries, baseball in the USA, kendo in Japan and bullfighting in Spain. Sport can help unite citizens within a nation. Semino and Masci (1996) study how Silvio Berlusconi, the former chairman of A C Milan, successfully employed the football metaphor in his campaign for prime minister in 1994. By using the football metaphor, he successfully exploited the enthusiasm of the Italians for football, built up a positive image and shared resonance with the public. For example in one speech he talked of entering politics as *scendere in campo* ('to enter the field'), his new right-wing party as building *una squadra* (a winning team). By metaphorizing the election as a football match, he avoided talking about politics directly which is too sensitive. Instead he brought warmth and excitement to the voters (p.251).

### c. The Common House Metaphor

Chilton and Ilyin (1993) study how different politicians employed the 'Common European House' metaphor to express their different world views in order to achieve their political ends – to encourage or divert communications. During the cold-war period in the 1980s, Gorbachev first introduced this metaphor during his visit to France in 1985, in an attempt to include Russia as a member of the European countries. He employed the *dom* (house) metaphor to express his purpose indirectly. According to Chilton and Ilyin (1993:8), a '*dom*' is a communal building with several flats divided by walls which different parties inhabit, such as families, students and workers. Moreover, the '*dom*' was used by the old Russian to refer to the world and the cosmos. Gorbachev extended the *dom* metaphor for his ideological purpose – an attempt to create common ground between Russia and other European countries. Meanwhile, Alain Besancon in *L'Express* regarded it as a device to exclude the stranger, here the USA, by depicting a picture that Russia and other European countries are geographically living together in the same communal building, namely the European Common House, excluding the USA (cited in Chilton and Ilyin 1993:16).

On the other hand, what Gorbachev perceived as a *dom* may not be the same as what the French or Germans understood. The German conservative Alfred Dregger made use of the *dom* metaphor to refuse Russia entering as one of the European members. Geographically, Russia lies on two continents and is denied by Dregger as being one of the European countries. By using the house metaphor, Dregger clearly stated his concept of the spatial representation of Europe. He pointed out that it is impossible for Russia to inhabit two houses as a house can be contiguous but not intersecting. The French minister of Foreign Affairs, Raimond, accepted the Russian use of the *dom* metaphor but said that it would be inhabited but not at the moment. By implying that the house was currently empty, he indirectly refused the Russian's dream. Moreover the French president diverted the house metaphor to gain control over the building up of the Common European House by focusing on another entailment of this metaphor – the furniture of a '*maison*'. By referring to this entailment (that it was necessary to furnish the *maison*), he indicated that the French accepted the negotiation of building a Common European House but under the French supervision of how the details (the furnishing) were discussed and implemented.

## 2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the causes and the ways of measuring cultural variations in conceptual metaphor have been discussed. In short, the two causes of cultural variations are differential experience and differential cognitive styles. On a linguistic level, it has been discussed that differential experience across cultures can be observed in conceptual metaphor in three ways: i) the same conceptual metaphor with different linguistic expressions; ii) an alternative metaphor; and iii) different metaphorical extensions of literal words. It has also been discussed that cultural variations manifest in saliency (or frequency) and value judgments of the source and target domains.

In the latter part of the chapter, the ideological nature of culture and conceptual metaphors has been explained. Examples of how politicians achieve their political ends by implementing cultural factors in the conceptual metaphors have also been provided. To summarize, metaphor motivation is both cultural-cognitive and pragmatic.

Nevertheless, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the choice and use of metaphor may vary in different text types. In other words, metaphor use is text-bound. In comparing the metaphor used in describing the same topic in popular periodicals and research

journals, Deignan and Skorczynska (2006) found that the ‘intended readership and purpose of the texts’ are two important factors influencing the use of linguistic metaphor (p.87). They found that the metaphors employed in the research journals tend to be genre-specific while the metaphors employed in the periodicals are more general to English. This example helps demonstrate that the types of discourse may affect the choice of metaphors. In other words, different types of discourse may be expressed in different kinds of conventional metaphor. As Kovecses also argues, some of the mappings from the source to the target domains are constrained by the social contexts of the target domains due to the ‘pressure of coherence’. As my research focuses on comparing economic newspapers in Britain and Hong Kong, the employment of conceptual metaphor in economic discourse is discussed. Moreover, an introduction of how corpus methods can help facilitate metaphor research, such as comparing cross-cultural variations and exploring the evaluation of a metaphor, is discussed in Chapter Three.

## Chapter 3: Metaphors in economic discourse and corpus methods in metaphor research

### Introduction

In addition to the significance of embodied experience and culture in conceptual metaphors, metaphor use may vary in different contexts. Deignan (2008) observed that the choice of metaphor may differ, depending on text types and genres. In the discussion of within culture variation, Kovecses (2005) also points out that the style can lead to variation in metaphor use. As my study focuses on comparing the metaphor use in the economic news articles between Britain and Hong Kong, in this chapter the uses of metaphor in economic discourse are explained. Where appropriate, data drawn from the two corpora compiled in my study are taken as examples to help illustrate the source domains utilized and the conventional conceptual metaphor manifested in economic discourse. Meanwhile, the rapid development of the corpus method has helped facilitate metaphor research in recent decades. Therefore the second part of this chapter is devoted to introducing how corpus methods can help facilitate metaphor research.

### 3.1 Conceptual metaphor in economic discourse

Metaphor is characteristic in economic discourse. As McCloskey (1995) claims, economic discourse is heavily metaphorical. Many technical terms such as ‘inflation’, ‘expansion’, ‘depression’ and so on are in themselves metaphorical. Taking Gareth Morgan’s writing as an example, Mangham (1996) comments that Morgan’s books about economic theories and models, such as *Images of Organization*, are filled with metaphors. The vivid metaphors help express the dynamic changes in economic situations and hence are more easily remembered and comprehended (Charteris-Black 2000, Boers 2000, Jakel 2003, White 1997, Velasco-Sacristan 2004, Smith 1995, Bielenia-Grajewska 2009, Boers and Demecheleer 1997). Henderson (1994:110) identifies three roles of metaphor in economic discourse. He argues that metaphors are utilized as

- i. textual decoration or perhaps as a teaching device, to illustrate or exemplify;
- ii. a central organizing principle of all language;
- iii. a device for exploring specific economic problems and as a basis for extending the domain of economic ideas.

As indicated in Henderson’s third role about metaphor in economic discourse (please see the above explanations), metaphor is useful for elaborating and understanding



complicated economic concepts and building predictive models. McCloskey (1983) and Mangham (1996) argue that economic language carries value judgments that persuade the readers to believe the economists' arguments or the 'facts' reported by the economists about certain economic situations. In a strong view, McCloskey (1995) holds that the language used in economic discourse is no different from other rhetorical devices whereby journalists employ metaphors to persuade the readers and rationalize their opinions or theories. For instance while examining the *Economist* corpus, Charteris-Black (2000) observes the economists' employment of animate metaphors to describe an economy as an active agent under the control of an expert whereas the inanimate metaphors present the market movements as natural forces beyond control.

In general, there are two basic metaphor traditions which help illustrate economic theories and build predictive models (Henderson 1994, 2000, Grant and Osrick 1996). They are the mechanistic and organic traditions. The research based on the materials from the domain of economics in different languages has shown that these two main streams of metaphors are prevalent (White 2003, Soler 2008, Bielenia-Crajewska 2009, Bratoz 2004, Lopez-Maestre 2000, Koller 2004, Arhens et al 2003). As Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001) point out, due to the prevalence of Newtonian

mechanical physics, mechanistic metaphors have been regarded as the standard way for modelling economic theories in order to validate the ‘scientific-ness’ of the discipline. Among all the mechanistic metaphors, lexical items conceptualizing the operation of an economy as a machine are common. In this sense, a well functioning economy is a machine or an engine working efficiently with the right procedures. This entails that following the rules is the appropriate way to ensure the normal operation of an economy. Below are some examples of the mechanistic metaphor taken from the corpora in my study.

63 ... suggesting **the economy** was operating below full capacity for the period. (UKGC\_Mar/06)

89 ... just to keep the wheels of the **economy** moving... (UKGC\_Mar/06)

281 ... this investment will become the locomotive of the **economy** in the coming two to three years ...  
(... 这项 投资 将 成为 未来 两 、 三 年 的 **经济** 火车头 ... ) (HKEJC\_ Aug/06)

Table 3.1 below shows the common linguistic expressions that realize the mechanistic metaphor. These expressions are all taken from my own data but they concur with the findings made by other researchers in the area that the **economy** is often delineated as a machine or a vehicle (Henderson 1994, Gramm 1996). These linguistic expressions that realize the mechanistic metaphor can be divided into three main types. They are related to the operations, efficiency and problems of the machine (See Appendices A and B for the concordance lines of the mechanistic metaphor taken from the corpora used in my pilot study).

Table 3.1 Common linguistic expressions realizing the mechanistic metaphor in economic discourse in English and Chinese languages

In the English data of my pilot study	In the Chinese data of my pilot study
‘efficiency’, ‘output’, ‘the locomotive’, ‘keep the wheels of the economy moving’, ‘operating below full capacity’, ‘economy drive’, ‘balance’, ‘imbalance’, ‘equilibrium’, ‘overheat’, ‘impact’, ‘hit’, ‘pressure’, ‘slow down’	‘the locomotive’ ( <i>huǒ chē tóu</i> 火车头), ‘unstable’ ( <i>bù wěn dìng</i> 不稳定), ‘overheat’ ( <i>guò rè</i> 过热), ‘gear (the connection of the track)’ ( <i>jiē guǐ</i> 接轨), ‘economy drive’ ( <i>dòng lì</i> 动力), ‘integrate’ ( <i>zhěng hé</i> 整合 / <i>róng hé</i> 融合), ‘imbalance’ ( <i>shī héng</i> 失衡), ‘engine’ ( <i>yǐn qín</i> 引擎), ‘operate’ ( <i>yùn xíng</i> 运行), ‘stability’ ( <i>wěn dìng xìng</i> 稳定性), ‘balance’ ( <i>píng héng</i> 平衡), ‘pressure’ ( <i>yā lì</i> 压力), ‘momentum’ ( <i>shì tóu</i> 势头), ‘derail’ ( <i>tuō guǐ</i> 脱轨)

As shown in the Table, words describing the operation of an engine such as ‘operate’ and ‘momentum’ (*shì tóu* 势头) can be observed in my study. These words help metaphorize an economy as an operating engine or machine. Words describing the efficiency of a machine such as ‘slow down’, ‘output’ or ‘efficiency’ help measure an economy quantitatively. That is to say a well functioning economy is a machine having a productive output. For instance

23 Manufacturing now accounts for less than 15% of the economy's output... (UKGC\_Sept/06)

5 That is because the efficiency of many repetitive business processes is, quite simply, at a miserable and acceptably low level... (UKGC\_Aug/06)

Similar to an engine or a machine that works in accordance with their default mode, the mechanistic metaphor entails that following the rules is the appropriate way to

ensure the normal operation of an economy. Therefore problems of an economy are mapped as the problems of a machine. For instance inflation is described as an ‘overheated’ engine that needs to ‘slow down’. Competitions which hinder the performance of an economy are car accidents or collisions.

1 ... Unbalanced, overheated and wobbling on the shaky foundations of a debt-ridden banking system, the **economy**, say some doom-mongers, is heading for a fall. (UKGC\_Aug/06)

53 ... it will inevitably have some impact on the **economy**, but it won't be that huge... (UKGC\_Apr/06)

27 ... and raising rates to arrest them can hit the **whole economy** quite hard. (UKGC\_Jan/06)

Sometimes theories from physics are incorporated into the mechanistic metaphor. For example lever theory concerning equilibrium is often employed to describe the theory concerning supply and demand. For instance when quantity demanded equals to quantity supplied, it is described as economic equilibrium. In terms of price theory, when supply equals demand, there is a lack of movement in price, which is called equilibrium price. Therefore when there is a change in either the supply or the demand, the price or the market is described as being in an unstable or disequilibrium state.

Another main stream of metaphor in economic discourse is the organic paradigm. Aspects of an economy are often delineated as features of an organism, realizing the generic conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM. White (2003)

observes that lexical items such as ‘revives’, ‘falters’, ‘growth’ and ‘recovers’ which describe concepts of growth in plants are commonly employed to structure the decrease and increase of aggregates of an economy as a cyclic phenomenon. Bratoz’s (2004) comparative study of the metaphor used in English and Slovene popular economic discourse also observed the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM. Under this super-ordinate metaphor, the health metaphor that maps the state of an economy as the health conditions of a human being is common. In addition, her data indicates that downsizing of business organizations is often conceptualized with the sub-metaphor LEAN IS HEALTHY. Through this metaphor, redundancy is justified as beneficial to an organization. In the corpus based on the articles in the *Economist*, Charteris-Black (2000) observes the metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A PATIENT. This conceptual metaphor is also observed in Boer’s research (1997). In Boer’s research (1997), the illnesses realizing THE ECONOMY IS A PATIENT include ‘*economic sclerosis*’ and ‘*arthritic labour markets*’. These collocations mapped a low level of economic activity as a sick patient. Other collocations delineating a high level of economic activity as a healthy human being are also identified, as in ‘*vibrant enterprises*’ and ‘*thriving industry*’. In my study,

the **economy** is also conceptualized as both a healthy human being and a sick patient.

For instance

A WEAK ECONOMY IS A SICK ORGANISM:

- 96 ... but tourism is suffering, the economy is in terrible shape ... (UKGC\_Apr/06)
- 56 ... which many here see as responsible for a long economic malaise that ended in massive unemployment and poverty... (UKGC\_Jan/06)
- 15 "I am feeling better about the prognosis for the world economy for the first time in ages," (UKGC\_May/06)
- 119 This forecasts GDP growth of 2.7% as the economy continues to pick up, but inflation reaching a peak ... (UKGC\_Sept/06)
- 98 ... thanks to the debilitated condition of the economy ... (UKGC\_Jul/06)
- 41 ... when the Hong Kong economy has just recovered from serious illness, most of the citizens would like to consolidate its healthy state first ...  
(... 市民 在 香港经济 大病初癒 之时 , 多 希望 固本培元 ... ) (HKEJC\_Aug/06)
- 35... the blood vessels of Japanese and Hong Kong economies have burst...  
(...日本 同 香港 经济 已 爆血管 ...) (HKEJC\_Nov/06)

A STRONG ECONOMY IS A HEALTHY ORGANISM:

- 31 ... signs that the US economy is in healthy shape... (UKGC\_Mar/06)
- 166 ... a similar bill designed to create "a vibrant mixed economy" in criminal justice services had to be withdrawn ... (UKGC\_Nov/06)
- 14 ... the rise in rate reflects that the economy is active... (HKEJC\_Mar/06)  
(... 利率 上升 系 经济 活跃 嘅 反映 ...)
- 145 ... the American economy is still healthy... (HKEJC\_Jun/06)  
(... 美国经济 仍 健康 ...)

In the Chinese data of my study, it can be observed that the ‘health’ of the economy is mapped as the stages in the human life cycle. For instance ‘the golden age’ (*huáng*

*jīn suì yuè* 黄金岁月), ‘old age’ (*lǎo nián qī* 老年期), ‘entering middle age’ (*bù rù zhōng nián* 步入中年), ‘a mature economy’ (*chéng shú de jīng jì* 成熟的经济) (See more examples in Chapter Four, *findings of the pilot study*). Moreover as pointed out in Chapter Two, a cultural-specific description of the **economy** as a patient can be observed in my Chinese data. That is the recovery of the **economy** is conceptualized in terms of the ‘rebirth metaphor’ which has its source in Taoism and Chinese folk theory.

Apart from the mechanistic and organic metaphors, the spatial metaphor is also salient in economic discourse. This kind of metaphor helps conceptualize economic processes as vertical and horizontal movements (Lopez-Maestre 2000, Smith 1995, Jakel 2003, Venuti and Vaghi 2003, Charteris-Black and Ennis 2001). As explained by many economists and linguists, the performance of an economy is mainly assessed by counting the aggregates. Therefore spatial metaphors UP IS GOOD and DOWN IS BAD are common in economic discourse as they help illustrate the increase of the aggregates as the pile of money going upward and its decrease as the pile of money diminishes downward. Moreover extending from the UP IS GOOD and DOWN IS BAD metaphors, the states of an economy are conceptualized as LOW STATUS IS DOWN and HIGH STATUS IS UP. Moreover performance of an economy is also commonly

delineated as movements of physical entities. For instance Smith (1995) observes that the vicissitudes of the Hong Kong financial markets are mapped as the rise and fall of physical entities.

Similarly, in Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001) and Venuti and Vaghi 2003 (2003), the conceptual metaphor MOVEMENTS OF THE ECONOMY ARE VERTICAL PHYSICAL MOVEMENTS is identified. In their research it was found that market movements are construed as physical movements in the air, water and on the ground. Many lexical items describing these three types of physical movement are conventional economic terms. Likewise, these terms can also be observed in the two corpora in my study (See Table 3.2 below).

Table 3.2 Collocations describing the economy as vertical physical movements in UKGC and HKEJC

Source domains	Collocations denoting vertical movements in the UKGC	Collocations denoting vertical movements in the HKEJC
Physical movements of objects	upward:  'boost', 'up', 'rise', 'bounce', 'rebound', 'afloat', 'fluctuate', 'spiral upwards', 'upswing', 'emerge'	upward: 'sheng' (升= rise /raise), 'shang' (上= up), 'fan tan' (反弹 = rebound), 'bo dong' (波动 = fluctuate), 'gao' (高 = high), 'jian ding' (见顶 = seeing the top), 'qi qi fu fu' 起起伏伏 / 'shang la' 上落 (= up up down down)
	downward:  'pull into recession', 'push into recession', 'tilt into recession', 'drag into recession', 'on the verge of a nasty bust', 'lumped', 'sank', 'declined', 'downturn', 'turned downward', 'down', 'fall', 'dropped'	downward:  'shuai tui' (衰退 = recession), 'xiang xia' (向下= downward), 'xia hua' (下滑 = slide down), 'xia tiao' (下调 = down fall), 'hua la' (滑落 = slip and fall), 'hui la' (回落 = fall back), 'di' (底 = bottom), 'di mi' (低迷 = low and unclear)



As the field of economics is associated with applied mathematics and often presented quantitatively in terms of curves and lines, some researchers suggest that we may conjecture the vertical collocations describing an economy as the rise and fall of the lines and curves as well (Charteris-Black and Musolff 2003, Jakel 2003, Smith 1995). Jakel (2003) groups these collocations as mountain-side typology as the patterns and curves in the graphs tempt us to interpret the movements of an economy as going up and down a mountain range. In this sense, the mountain-side metaphor explains the frequent use of the lexical items in relation to landscapes. For instance

203 This week global stock markets hit a new high, finally surpassing the "new **economy**" peak during the dotcom boom of 1999/2000. (UKGC\_May/06)

2 ... the high peak of the Hong Kong **economy** was in year 1997 ...  
(... 香港**经济** 高峰期 喺 1997 年 ...)

107 When the **economy** hit rock bottom, the town was left with a deserted high street. (UKGC\_Sept/06)

13 ... In those two years Hong Kong' **economy** rose from the low valley ...  
(... 那两年 香港 **经济** 从 低谷 回升 ...)

In the first two examples above, the lexical items 'peak' and 'high peak' (*gao feng* 高峰) are the highest points of the landscape. In accordance with UP IS GOOD, they help illustrate that the Hong Kong **economy** has reached its maximum strength. On the other hand, the expressions 'rock bottom' and 'valley bottom' (*di gu* 低谷 or *gu di* 谷底) in the last two examples focus on the lowest point of the landscape. As DOWN IS

BAD, they help conceive of the **economy** as reaching its poorest and most difficult state.

Moreover some vertical movements are implicit in the source domains such as BUILDING and FLYING. These two source domains are common source domains employed to metaphorize different target domains, including ECONOMY. Tables 3.3a and 3.3b below are the common linguistic expressions taken from my data which help realize the source domains, BUILDING and FLYING. These expressions are also common in other economic corpora.

Table 3.3a Linguistic expressions realizing the source domain BUILDING

Source domain BUILDING	From the English data	From the Chinese data
upward movements	to bolster, build up, based on, founded, put a floor under the economy, prop up, underpin	‘based on’( <i>jian ji</i> 建基)
downward movements	collapse, undermine, pull down	‘collapse’( <i>beng kui</i> 崩溃) ‘pull down’( <i>tuo kua</i> 垮掉/拖跨),

Table 3.3b Linguistic expressions realizing the source domain FLYING

Source domain FLYING	From the English data	From the Chinese data
Upward movements		‘taking off’ ( <i>qi fei</i> 起飞), ‘(birds) flying into the sky’ ( <i>teng fei</i> 腾飞)
Downward movements	crashed down, bring down, nosedive, soft /hard landing	‘landing’( <i>zhou lu</i> 着陆), ‘soft / hard landing’ ( <i>ruan/ying zhou lu</i> 软/硬着陆)

In the BUILDING metaphor, in line with DOWN IS BAD, serious failures of an economy are often mapped as the falling of a building such as ‘collapse’ (*beng kui* 崩溃) or ‘pull down’ (*tuo kua* 拖垮). For instance

52 ... Meanwhile, the Palestinian **economy** was rapidly collapsing under international sanctions ... (UKGC\_Jun/06)

25 ... all democratic institutions have been emasculated. As the **economy** has collapsed and international demands for change ... (UKGC\_May/06)

18 ... otherwise, another 10-year Vietnamese war can collapse the US **economy**.  
(... 不然 再嚟 一次 十年 越战 , 可 拖垮 美国**经济** 。)

99 ... but the economy is still prosperous, it proves that high oil price is not the reason for the collapse of the **economy**...  
(... 但 经济 仍然 繁荣, 证明 高油价 唔系 令 **经济** 崩溃 嘅 理由 ...)

In accordance with UP IS GOOD, expressions emphasizing the importance of a firm foundation such as ‘bolster’, ‘founded upon’, ‘put a floor under the **economy**’, ‘underpin’, ‘undermined’ and ‘based on’ (*jian ji* 建基 line 511 below) are employed to delineate a strong economy. They help realize the conceptual metaphor A STRONG

ECONOMY IS A BUILDING WITH A FIRM FOUNDATION. For instance

37 ... whether borrowing costs will soon be cut again to bolster the **economy**. (UKGC\_Feb/06)

2 ... celebrating its rich diversity and vibrant young **economy** founded upon immigration. (UKGC\_Oct/06)

247 ... accuses him of pursuing two decades of policies that have undermined the global **economy** ...  
(UKGC\_Jan/06)

222 "It still underpins the local **economy**," said Jonathan Bastable, a partner at estate agents Burrough & Co.  
(UKGC\_Mar/06)

218 ... as opposed to a manufacturing **economy** based on cheap labour costs, stimulating skilled employment.  
(UKGC\_Mar/06)

511 The prosperity of the **economy** is surely based on human’s unlimited creativity but not resources ...  
(**经济**繁荣 的确 建基于 人类 无限创意 而非 资源...)

Similar to the source domain, BUILDING, many collocations in the source domain, FLYING, also help conceptualize the ups and downs of the economy. For example the words ‘nosedive’ and ‘bring down’ help construe a worsening **economy** as a falling aeroplane. The two lexical items delineating the downward movements of the **economy** help constitute the conceptual metaphor A WORSENING STATE IS AN AEROPLANE GLIDING DOWNWARD. For instance

- 57 ... Georgia's **economy** took a nosedive when the Soviet Union fell apart ... (UKGC\_Sept/06)
- 4 ... The crisis in Iceland is not about to bring the world economy crashing down. (UKGC\_Apr/06)
- 7 Better to let the bubbles burst by themselves and cut interest rates if they threatened to bring the whole economy down... (UKGC\_Apr/06)
- 19 ... triggering a run on dollars so pronounced it would bring global financial markets and the world economy down with it. (UKGC\_May/06)

On the other hand, ‘flying upward’ is conceptualized as the progress and improvement of an economy.

- 1 ... in his term of office HK's **economy** rapidly took off, ran from post-war shrinking towards prosperity ...  
(... 他 任内 香港 经济 迅速 起飞 , 从 战后的 萧条 走向 繁荣 ... ) (HKEJC\_Jan/06)
- 54 ... becomes the important reason for the take off of the Taiwan **economy** and its prosperity in these several decades...  
(... 成为 台湾 经济 起飞 和 数十年 繁荣 的 重要 关键 ... ) (HKEJC\_May/06)
79. both the **economies** in China and Hong Kong flew swiftly in the sky (soar), ‘The Big Four’ businesses ‘cannot be any better’ ...  
(... 中港 两地 经济 腾飞 , 「四大」的 生意「好到不得了」 ... ) (HKEJC\_May/06)

As shown in the above examples, positive results such as ‘prosperity’ or ‘big businesses’ appear after the **economy** has flown (‘fei’ 飞) into the sky. As explained

in the *Lin Yu Tang Chinese-English Dictionary* (1999), the lexical item, ‘fly swiftly into the sky’ (*teng fei* 腾飞, line 79 above) which is often translated as ‘soar’ refers to the speedy and handsome flying of big birds such as eagles into the sky. According to Chinese culture, big birds (most likely eagles) flying into the sky symbolizes success. For instance the Chinese idiom ‘a great plan soars like a swan goose’ (*dà zhǎn hóng tú* 大展鴻圖) is a common phrase Chinese people use to bless their friends or business partners when they open a new business.

Among all the spatial metaphors which conceptualize the target domains as horizontal movements, the journey metaphor is probably the most distinctive and common type. For instance the target domains LOVE and ECONOMY are often conceptualized via the source domain JOURNEY. Lopez-Maestre (2000) observes the conceptual metaphor BUSINESS IS A JOURNEY in his corpus which is composed of headlines of the business section of *The Times* 1970-1990. In this corpus, he observes that entities in the target domain BUSINESS correspond systematically to entities in the source domain JOURNEY. For instance the target domain BUSINESS is conceptualized as pathways. Different stages in a business transaction are mapped as the starting point, intermediate stages and the endpoint of a journey. Profit is the endpoint of the journey and financial problems are obstacles in the journey. As will be discussed in

Chapter Five, the journey metaphor is also a salient metaphor describing the economy in my study (See Chapter Five for details).

Other metaphors which are also common in economic discourse include the watery, fighting and warfare, ships and sailing and sports metaphors (Boer 2000, Henderson 2000, Kollers 2004). Henderson (2000) observes that the watery metaphors help describe resources as fluid ‘flowing’ flexibly. Kollers’ research (2004) also shows that war, sports and games metaphors are common in conceptualizing ‘marketing and sales’. In my data, these metaphors can also be observed. Indeed, some of the concordance lines cited earlier (p.115) concerning the source domain FLYING are also examples of the war metaphor.

4 ... The crisis in Iceland is not about to bring the world economy crashing down. (UKGC\_Apr/06)

19 ... triggering a run on dollars so pronounced it would bring global financial markets and the world economy down with it. (UKGC\_May/06)

In the examples above, the lexical items ‘crashing down’, ‘bring the whole economy down’, and ‘triggering a run on dollars[...] bring global financial markets and the world economy down’ are depictions of vertical movements as well as wars and fights. They help constitute the conceptual metaphor ECONOMIC COMPETITIONS ARE WARS. In the examples above, the **economy** resembles an aeroplane being brought down in economic wars. These war expressions help construe the pressure of the economy

and the competition from other sectors. The **economy** which is seriously affected is mapped as an aeroplane being shot (as in ‘triggering a run on dollars’) or crashing down.

Having explained the popular source domains and conceptual metaphors manifested in the economic discourse, details of how corpus methods can help facilitate metaphor research in economic discourse are discussed in the following subsections.

### 3.2 What is a corpus?

Corpus, in linguistic research, is a collection of naturally occurring examples of languages compiled for linguistic purposes. The size of a corpus can vary from as small as only two pieces of text to continuously expanding data from when compilation began. Due to the advances made in computer technology in recent decades, large corpora containing abundant texts are made available as they can be stored electronically despite the size. To date, as accepted by most corpus linguists, ‘a linguistic corpus is a collection of texts which have been selected and brought together so that language can be studied on the computer (Wynne 2005:vii). Basically, the materials selected for corpus compilation is mainly written texts as it is

difficult with tape recordings and transcribing conversations (Sinclair 1991, Hunston 2002, Kennedy 1998, McEnery and Wilson 1996, Partington 1998, Meyer 2002, Baker 1995). Mair (2009) points out that there are still a few spoken corpora such as the British National Corpus and the Longman Corpus of Spoken American English which are accessible for pronunciation and prosody. Furthermore the World Wide Web (WWW) can provide abundant immediately accessible materials which are interesting and up-to-date (Hundt et al 2006, Anthony 2009, Adolphs 2006, Sinclair 2004), and saves time on digitizing the materials. Despite the advancement in computer technology and the convenience in downloading material from the WWW, the value and contribution of relatively smaller corpora (in terms of word count) still cannot be ignored (Hundt et al 2006, Anthony 2009, Adolphs 2006, Sinclair 2004). As Kennedy (2007) reminds us, different kinds of corpora contain resources which are valuable for different kinds of research purposes regardless of their size.

As such, a corpus is only a large collection of electronic data. With the help of software such as Wordsmith Tool (Scott 2004), different kinds of language research can be facilitated. Most importantly, the software helps attest our intuition on certain language patterns. As Sinclair (1991, 2004) points out, a corpus is a more reliable tool than native speakers' intuition in telling us the typicality of a language.



Moreover many linguistic theories are devised at an abstract level, and by using appropriate software corpora can provide empirical evidence for the linguistic theories being investigated. Hunston (2002) points out that a corpus is a better reference in at least four aspects of language: collocation, frequency, prosody and phraseology (please see details in section 3.2.2). In order to carry out research on syntactic patterns, some corpora are annotated. There are two types of annotation: tagging and parsing. As explained by Hunston (2002:18-19), ‘Tagging is referred to the addition of a code to each word in a corpus, indicating the part of speech. Parsing is the analysis of text into constituents, such as clauses and groups.’

Concerning the issues of corpus design, many researchers have pointed out the importance of the *representativeness* of a corpus (Sinclair 2004, Hunston 2002, McEnery et al 2006). McEnery et al (2006) points out that representativeness is decided by two factors: *balance* and *sampling*. A representative corpus should include the range of text types the corpus is set out for. For instance a general corpus should include as many text types as possible since its purpose is to provide an overall description of a language. Similarly, in a specialized corpus, a wide range of texts from the genres or registers to be examined should be included. In general, an ideal representative corpus is expected to be a balanced corpus in terms of quantity

that the number of words in each text type or text is equal. However, it may not be true in all cases as some text types are inherently longer. Hunston (2002) observes that articles in broadsheet newspapers are generally longer than in tabloids. Therefore a general corpus comprised of broadsheet newspapers may contain more words. Moreover difficulties may arise when collecting suitable data, such as copyright issues, accessibility of the materials and cost. As Sinclair (2004:9) reminds us, the notions of representativeness and balance 'are not precisely definable and attainable goals'. They are guidelines that researchers are encouraged to follow. McEnery et al (2006) shares a similar view that there is no objective way to measure the representativeness and balance of the corpora. The main concern is whether the materials included in the corpora are suitable for the intended research.

Since it is impossible to exhaustively describe natural language, sampling may be necessary to ensure that the corpus compiled is representative and balanced in order to match the research purpose. Decisions need to be made include what kinds and the number of texts to be selected, the length of the text samples and so on. As mentioned earlier, issues about corpus design are related to representativeness and balance and there are no absolute rules concerning these two criteria. Therefore while considering the issue of sampling, that is the size of the sample texts, there is

not an absolute rule that every article collected should be cut down to a standard word limit, for example 200 words from each article collected. As Tognini-Bonelli (2001) concludes from the opinions of other linguists such as Sinclair (1991), a corpus building up whole documents can open to a wider range of linguistic studies since linguistic patterns do not distribute evenly throughout a whole text.

Drawing upon the different opinions in relation to corpus design, as Sinclair further elaborates (2004:16), ‘a corpus is a collection of pieces of language text in electronic form, selected according to external criteria to represent, as far as possible, a language or language variety as a source of data for linguistic research.’

### 3.2.1 Different types and functions of corpora

In recent decades, different corpora for different linguistic purposes have been compiled to suit the various kinds of linguistic research. As stated by Hunston (2002:2):

“A corpus is planned, though chance may play a part in the text collection, and it is designed for some linguistic purposes. The specific purpose of the design determines the selection of texts.”

The fields of research that have benefitted from corpus study mainly include English language teaching, language variation, language and ideology, forensic linguistics, spoken discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and corpus stylistic. In this section, the common corpora compiled and the types of research projects they help facilitate are explained.

A *general corpus* aims at representing the general usage of a language. Therefore it usually contains a wide variety of texts in different genres and registers. They are mainly used for research in lexicography, for instance the *general corpora* named *The Bank of English* (BoE) and *The British National Corpus* (BNC) which contains both spoken and written texts as naturally occurring examples of language. Sometimes they are called *reference corpora* as they are used in comparison with specialized corpora (Kennedy 1998, McEnery et al 2006).

Teachers can employ authentic data in the general corpora when preparing their teaching materials and do not need to make up examples. Tsui (2004) points out that these general corpora help provide authentic examples produced by native speakers in real time and help raise teachers' language awareness. Such data-driven learning also helps promote a more inductive, discovering approach in language learning as students and teachers can consult such corpora to get insight into how the

target linguistic patterns are actually used by native speakers (Granger and Tribble 1998, Bernadini 2004). In addition to the general corpora, *learner corpora* and *pedagogic corpora* are built up for the use of teaching pedagogy. For instance the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) and Telecorpora (TELEC) help address language problems and compare the use of English between native and non-native users. The one million-word corpus of English from computer science textbooks built up by the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology is a pedagogic corpus for specific purposes. It helps raise the awareness of learners about words and phrases in the science domain.

Baker (1995) points out that *parallel corpora* and *multilingual corpora* are useful in machine translation and writing materials. A *parallel corpus* consists of texts in their original language and their translation in another language. The *Hansard Corpus* is the best known parallel corpus that consists of the proceedings of the Canadian Parliament in English and French. Other examples include the parallel corpus of Italian and English text developed by Marinai et al (1991) and the Norwegian and English parallel corpus compiled by Johansson and Hofland (2000). With specific software such as *Para Conc*, source sentences can be aligned with the appropriate

translated texts. This alignment method is especially important in the translation of specific socio-cultural and historical contexts.

Information extracted from different sources such as business meetings, financial news, literature and political news articles are compiled into *specialized corpora*.

Their sizes are relatively smaller than the general corpora. They serve as samples in helping us understand specific features in different discourses. For instance Deignan (2005) and Charteris-Black (2004) explore the language features manifested in financial news and sporting news. With these different specialized corpora, comparative studies of the styles across discourses can be facilitated. Biber et al (1998, 2001) is one of the examples that attempts to distinguish variations in grammatical items in different genres. Another prevailing application of specialized corpora is research concerning critical discourse analysis. For instance with the use of corpus methods, Charteris-Black (2004) studies the metaphors used in different kinds of contexts such as sports reporting, financial reporting and the Bible, in order to explore the opinions and ideas of the writers of these texts. Apart from the synchronic corpora illustrated above, diachronic corpora such as the *Helsinki Corpus* and the *Lambeter Corpus* help facilitate research concerning language change and social change over time.

### 3.2.2 How are corpus studies carried out?

With the help of various types of software such as *Wordsmith Tool*, *MicroConcord* and *Para Conc*, corpora compiled for the above research projects can be facilitated.

As pointed out by many linguists, the software helps process data by providing i) a word list with the frequency of occurrence of each word; and ii) the phraseology of the search words. The word list gives a brief overview of the types and tokens contained in the corpora. By comparing the word lists in different kinds of corpora, such as two different kinds of specialized corpora, researchers can discover the specific kinds of lexis which are used more often in different specific corpora. Most importantly, the software helps present the texts in the form of concordance lines. Sinclair (1991:32) defines concordance lines as ‘a collection of the occurrences of a word-form, each in its own textual environment’. In each concordance line, the key (or search) word is arranged at the centre of each line. Such presentation of the key word is known as the ‘key word in context format’ (hereafter KWIC). Please see the examples of the search word, ‘economy’ below).

- 5 ... eight on the downside risks from a weaker American **economy**, slack in the British labour market ...
- 63 ...the post-war reconstruction of Britain's exhausted **economy** and shattered infrastructure.
- 132 ... IR skills out of date by 2020. The UK has a strong **economy** and record employment ...
- 133 ... said yesterday. In spite of boasting of a stronger **economy** in yesterday's pre- budget report ...

With this KWIC method, researchers are enabled to observe the phraseology of the search words in a corpus by investigating the co-text of the search words in the concordance lines. The idea of investigating the co-text of the target word was first proposed by Firth and further developed by Sinclair and others. As Firth argued, ‘you shall judge a word by the company it keeps’ (Firth 1957, cited in Partington 1998). The phraseology of a search word in KWIC format can be divided into four main types: *collocational* and *colligational* patterns, *semantic preference* and *semantic prosody* of the search words (Hunston 2002:3, McEnery and Wilson 1996).

a. Collocational patterns

It is believed that choice of words is never random. Some words tend to co-occur with certain items more frequently. Sinclair (1991) defines collocation as ‘the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text’ (1991: 170). Hoey (1991:6-7) defines collocation in a statistical way that ‘collocation has long been the name given to the relationship a lexical item has with items that appear with greater than random probability in its context.’ By looking at a search word in KWIC format, we can discover the habitual association of a word with other items. Sinclair further notes that collocational patterns are genre dependent. For instance



the collocation ‘dull highlights’ is more common in photography (Sinclair 1966, cited in Partington 1998) and the lemma ‘grow’ often co-occurs with ‘economy’ in economic discourse.

Sinclair proposed in the idiom principle that there are plenty of ‘semi-preconstructed patterns or phrases’ in English which operate effectively as a single word. For instance *of course* operates as a single word. These words may co-occur in a span but not necessarily appear adjacent to each other.

#### b. Colligational patterns

In addition to collocation, many linguists also point out the constraint of grammar in organizing features of text (Sinclair 1991, Partington 1998, McEnery et al 2006, Hunston 2002, Tognini-Bonelli 2004). As Tognini-Bonelli (2004) puts it,

“Words do not occur at random, they favour relationships with certain words and not others. They also tend to prefer certain grammatical functions and not others.” (2004:21)

The above citation highlights that words tend to co-occur in certain grammatical patterns as well as collocational patterns. Firth called this grammatical behaviour colligation. For example Hoey (2005:44) discovered that ‘*ponder*’ is typically primed to avoid the passive voice while ‘*consequence*’ is typically primed to colligate

negatively with pre- and post-modifications. Moreover it is argued that lexis and grammar are inseparable. Many lexical items are primed to co-occur or avoid appearing with other lexical items in certain grammatical patterns (Firth 1957 cited in Partington 1998, Sinclair 1991, Hoey 2005). That is to say a word's pattern of use is controlled by its colligation. Meanwhile the pattern of use of the preceding word restricts the choice of the lexical item and its preferred colligational patterns of the words that come after it (Sinclair 1991, Hunston 2002, Partington 1998, Hoey 2005). Taking the lexical item 'recession' as an example, it is an institutionalized term describing an unfavourable state of an economy. In the English data in my study, when the abstract concept, 'economy' collocates with certain physical actions (such as 'pulled', 'dragged' and 'tipped'), it is usually in a passive position affected by certain physical actions. Moreover the co-occurrence of the action verbs with the word 'economy' appears to follow frequently by the preposition 'into' which helps conceptualize the state that the affected economy has fallen into as a container. When the pattern 'physical actions + the economy + into' occurs, the container is very likely 'recession' (please see some of the examples below). This lexico-grammatical pattern can be illustrated as follows:

<Physical actions + the economy + into + recession>

5 ... could take consumer spending with them, pulling the whole **economy** into recession. (UKGC\_Jan 06)

8 ... burst spectacularly and threatened to drag the whole US **economy** into deep recession. (UKGC\_Jan 06)

4 ... surplus could cause a collapse in the dollar and tip the world **economy** into recession. (UKGC\_Apr 06)

119. In the short term, there is no suggestion that the **economy** *is going to lurch* into recession. (UKGC\_May 06)

Although a similar pattern also appears in the Chinese data, ‘recession’ (*shuai tui*, 衰退) co-occurs with mental verbs instead of action verbs. Moreover ‘recession’ may not necessarily be conceptualized as a container (Please see the examples in Table 3.5 below), manifesting a different lexico-grammatical pattern, that is <mental actions + the economy + recession>.

Table 3.4 Examples of the co-occurrence of ‘economy’ with mental verbs in the Chinese data in my study

From the Chinese data	English translation	mental verbs + ‘recession’
20 ... 美国联储局 点样 增加 货币 去 <u>阻止</u> <u>经济衰退</u> 后 ... (HKEJC_Jan/06)	20 ... after how the US Federal Reserve Board increased currency to <u>stop economic recession</u> ...	<u>stop economic recession</u> (阻止 经济衰退)
35 ... 贝南奇 正努力 去 <u>避免</u> 美国 经济 <u>出现</u> <u>衰退</u> ... (HKEJC_Oct/06)	35 ... Ben Bernanke is now trying hard to <u>avoid US economy appearing to be in recession</u> ...	<u>avoid US economy appearing recession</u> ... (避免 美国 经济 出现 衰退)
11 ... 相信 联储局 为 <u>防止</u> <u>经济衰退</u> , 亦将在 明年 减息 ... (HKEJC_Nov/06)	11 ...in order to <u>prevent economic recession</u> , it is believed that the Federal Reserve will also decrease rates next year ...	<u>prevent economic recession</u> (防止 经济衰退)
45 ... 唔似 过去 二十五年 只须 <u>对付</u> <u>经济衰退</u> ... (HKEJC_Jan /06)	45... unlike the previous 25 years that we only needed to <u>deal with economic recession</u> ...	<u>deal with economic recession</u> (对付 经济 衰退)
84 ...在 经历了 <u>经济衰退</u> 和 连番 挫折 之后... (HKEJC_Feb/06)	84 ... after <u>experiencing economic recession</u> and several failures...	<u>experienced economic recessions</u> (经历了 经济 衰退)
35... 往往 <u>引发</u> <u>经济衰退</u> ... (HKEJC_Mar 06)	35 ... it will always <u>trigger economic recession</u> ...	<u>trigger economic recession</u> ... (引发 经济 衰退)
65 ... 继而 <u>导致</u> 全球 <u>经济衰退</u> ... (HKEJC_May/06)	65 ... then it may <u>cause global economic recession</u> ...	<u>cause global economic recession</u> (导致 全球 经济 衰退)

Despite the difference, both lexico-grammatical patterns deliver a negative evaluation about the topic economy in both corpora. A more detailed discussion of this pattern will be given in Chapter Five.

### c. Semantic preference

Defined by Stubbs (2001:65), semantic preference is ‘the relation, not between individual words, but between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words’. For instance ‘*large*’ often co-occurs with words concerning *quantities* and *size*. ‘*Undergo*’ usually collocates with lexical sets of *medicine*, *change*, *testing* and *involuntariness* in an unfavourable way to indicate that people are forced to do something they do not want to do (Stubbs 2001). Sinclair (2004), when examining the phrase ‘*the naked eye*’, discovered that the phrase is often related to *vision* and *colour*. In the data of my study, when the **economy** is conceptualized via metaphors, the collocations denoting UP-DOWN movements often co-occur with numbers and figures since performance of an economy is often evaluated quantitatively (McCloskey 1983, Mirowski et al 1994, Jakel 2003, Smith 1995). For instance

49 ... predicted that the New Europe workforce will boost Britain's **economy** by 0.2% in 2006 ... (UKGC\_Feb/06)

14 ... the **economy** would continue its spectacular rise - with a forecast of 8% growth ... (UKGC\_Mar/06)

8 ... The cost of staff absence to the UK **economy** rose to over pounds 13bn in 2005 ... (UKGC\_May/06)

66 ... Indian **economy** rise in a speed of 8% per annum, China even reached 9.5%, ...  
(... 印度 **经济** 以 年率 8% 速度 上升 , 中国 更 高达 9.5% ... ) (HKEJC\_Feb/06)

382 ... according to the USA inflation rate, the rate inducing the downward of the **economy** is 5.5% ...  
(... 以 美国 通胀率 计 , 引发 **经济** 向下 概 利率 水平 系 五厘七五 ... ) (HKEJC\_Mar/06)

Furthermore Tognini-Bonelli (2004) points out that semantic preference is controlled by colligation. For instance when '*the naked eye*' collocates with '*visible*', it takes the preposition '*to*' but it takes the preposition '*with*' when it collocates with '*see*'.

#### d. Semantic prosody

Semantic prosody, a term first coined by Sinclair, indicates the speaker's attitude and evaluative stance of a topic. Semantic prosody helps show the preference of the co-occurrence of one item with another. For example Sinclair discovered that '*set in*' is usually associated with unpleasant events such as '*decay*', '*ill-will*' and '*impoverishment*'. Similarly, Stubbs found that the collocates of '*cause*' usually carry an unfavourable prosody, such as '*accident*', '*concern*', '*damage*', '*death*' and '*trouble*'. In general, semantic prosody delivers a speaker's point of view (Hunston and Thompson 2000, Louw 1993). For example Louw (1993) examines how David Lodge intentionally associates '*bent on*' with a favourable collocate ('*self-improvement*') but not a usually unfavourable collocate, in order to produce an ironic effect. As noted earlier, the collocational pattern of '*recession*' in the English data of my study often delivers a negative semantic prosody about the search word, '*economy*'. The FLYING metaphor in my data is another example. In the flying metaphor, soft landing and hard landing are two common technical terms describing

the operations of an economy. According to the Business dictionaries, (Collins 2005, 2000) hard landing refers to the **economy** going directly from expansion to recession and soft landing means the avoidance of inflation, high interest rates and recession by lowering the growth rate. Therefore soft landing is preferred to hard landing. The data in my study indicates that soft landing often collocates with positive words to create a positive prosody whereas hard landing co-occurs with negative words to create a negative prosody (see Table 3.5 below).

Table 3.5 concordance lines showing the semantic prosodies created by the terms ‘soft landing’ and ‘hard landing’

From the English Data	From the Chinese Data
Positive semantic prosody	
49 ... as well as growing <u>hopes of a soft landing</u> for the American <b>economy</b> . (UKGC_Nov/06)	80 ... <u>soft landing</u> of the <b>economy</b> is the <u>ideal result</u> ... (HKEJC_Aug/06) (... 经济 软着陆 是 理想 的 结果 ...) 33 ... and expected the <b>US economy</b> can <u>successfully</u> <u>soft land</u> ... (HKEJC_Nov/06) (... 亦 预期 美国 经济 可成功 软着陆 ...)
Negative semantic prosody	
21 ... this week have eased <u>fears</u> of a ‘ <u>hard landing</u> ’ for the <b>economy</b> as the public shows little evidence of pain ... (UKGC_Oct/06)	68 ... but China’s market has many <u>policy risks</u> , including the future appearance of macro-adjustment and worries of hard landing of the <b>economy</b> ... (HKEJC_May 06) (... 但 中国市场 存在 不少 政策风险 , 包括 未来 出现 宏观调控 以及 经济 硬着陆 等 疑虑...)

In the examples above, soft landing is described as what people ‘hope for’ in the English data (line 49 above), a ‘success’ (*cheng gong* 成功, line 33) and an ‘ideal’ (*li xiang* 理想, line 80) in the HKEJC. In contrast, hard landing is what people ‘fear’ in the UKGC (line 68 above). Similarly in the Chinese data, hard landing incurs

‘worries’ (*yi lu* 疑虑, line 68) and ‘risks’ (*feng xian* 风险, line 68) and thus it needs to be avoided.

### 3.2.3 Limitations of corpus studies

Despite the contributions of corpus research, there are some limitations in corpus compilation. As mentioned earlier, software is a very important tool when conducting corpus research. Anthony (2009) points out that computer software engineers may not be able to fully understand the purpose of the researchers and what applications the researchers expect in the software. Moreover different specialized corpora are built up for different research questions. It would be impossible to expect the software engineers to create software that is tailor-made for the needs of every researcher. Even though there is available software suitable for their research, it may take them a lot of time to learn the different functions of the software. As Sinclair (2004:296) commented, ‘anyone who uses corpus tools will have experienced occasions when the software is either not sophisticated enough to perform an action, or is too complex for the user to figure out how the action should be performed.’ In contrast, corpus linguists have a clear understanding of the purpose of their research projects and what applications they need to facilitate their research. Although Biber

(1998) encourages researchers to develop their own tools through computer programming, it is applicable only if the researchers are good at computer programming. As Anthony (2009) further explains, computer programming is a completely foreign world to many researchers. Due to the limitations of software engineering and researchers' limited knowledge on programming, some linguistic research may need to be adjusted or cannot be carried out.

Another limitation is related to the issue of data collection. Although the World Wide Web is a huge resource for corpus compilation, the quality of the language content may not be representative from the point of view of linguistic application (Anthony 2009). Moreover as Sinclair noted (2004), some materials are informal conversations, historical documents or handwritten material which cannot be downloaded from the WWW. Therefore in order to store them electronically, a lot of labour is needed for scanning, or even keying in again if they are historical documents.

The final limitation discussed here is related to the interpretations of the researchers. Admittedly, the size of a corpus can be infinite. No matter how much data we collect, it is unlikely that we can include all the linguistic patterns in a corpus. Furthermore, a corpus is a large repository of information of a language and its



frequency of use. The actual investigation is mainly the responsibility of the researchers. In other words, researchers' interpretations of data can be subjective at times. Given the infeasibility of compiling an exhaustive corpus and the subjective interpretation of the researchers, many linguists point out that it is necessary to bear in mind that generalizations, conclusions and interpretations of the findings we draw from the corpus is only applicable to the corpus employed. They may not be hard 'facts' of a language (McEnery et al 2006, Sinclair 2004, Hunston 2002).

### 3.3 Corpus methods in metaphor research

Deignan (2009:9) observed that there are two main strands of corpus research into metaphor. They are the analysis of linguistic patterns of metaphor and the research into the use of metaphor in specific genres. Semino (2008) also attributes the significance of corpus-based metaphor research in both exploring systematic metaphorical patterns of certain expressions in a language or in specialized genres. Moreover Deignan points out research projects in the first strand are 'interested in the specific meanings conveyed by particular groups of metaphors, and by extension, in metaphor and ideology' (p.9) and thus large general corpora are required in order to facilitate this type of metaphor research. Both of these linguists point out that the

corpus method helps to search for the targeted linguistic metaphors, and then provides the frequency, collocational and colligational patterns of these metaphors. As explained in Chapter Two, metaphor is pragmatic because journalists in economic discourse may prefer certain metaphors over other metaphors in order to deliver their evaluation concerning economics. In this respect, corpus methods may help uncover the evaluations of the journalists by studying the semantic prosody or semantic preference carried in the metaphors.

Concerning the collocational and colligational patterns of linguistic metaphors, different kinds of fixed syntactic patterns of the metaphorical expressions can be explored through corpus methodologies. Deignan (2005) observed that some collocational patterns, such as the co-occurrence of ‘small’ and ‘price’ are more likely to trigger metaphorical interpretation than the other patterns (as in ‘high’ with ‘price’). The co-occurrence of ‘fat’ and ‘cats’ is more often employed metaphorically in describing business activities whereas their co-occurrence is not common in literal use. These examples suggest that metaphorical production and processing of non-literal language can be predicted by looking at the syntagmatic relations of the linguistic expressions. In addition, some lexical expressions may exhibit some restricted lexical patterns when they are employed metaphorically. For example some

linguistic metaphors tend to occur in fixed expressions, such as ‘dirty talk’ and ‘clean talk’. Body-part metaphors are often qualified by words from the target domains in order to avoid a literal interpretation, as in ‘the eyes of *a tourist*’ and ‘the heads of *a state*’.

Deignan (2005:145-67) identified that the metaphorical uses of literal words are more restricted in terms of their grammatical choices. She observes that verbs such as ‘move’ and ‘stir’ to realize the conceptual metaphor FEELING IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT tend to occur in the passive voice while their literal use tends to occur in the active voice. The body part ‘shoulders’ always occurs in plural when used metaphorically. In addition, many literal words seem to exhibit metaphorical meanings involving a different part of speech. For instance grammatical conversions are observed in the metaphorical mapping of animal metaphors. When the source domain, ANIMALS, which is a noun, is employed metaphorically to talk about human behaviours, they often appear as verbs or adjectives in the target domains.

Research in the second strand includes the analysis of metaphor use in specialized corpora. In sections 3.1 and 3.2 of this chapter concerning the research into conventional types of metaphors used in economic discourse, many of the research projects cited in these two sections were carried out with the help of the corpus

method. Moreover the corpus method helps compare metaphorical expressions employed at a cross-linguistic level. For instance Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003) compared the use of metaphors in two equal-sized corpora describing the euro in Britain and Germany. Their results show that both corpora described the euro with the *up/down* and *health/strength* metaphors. However, the euro is described as more active in the English corpus than in the German corpus. Likewise, Semino (2002) compares the description of the euro in two corpora, an English and an Italian corpora. Her research places more emphasis on the cultural significance leading to the differences in the two corpora. In her research, she observes that the Italian corpus has manifested the special ‘exam’ metaphor due to the social context of Italy at the time the euro system was introduced. She explains that Italy was keen on gaining membership to this single currency union due to her historically weak financial situation. The ‘exam’ metaphor reflects that the Italians treated the gaining of the membership as passing an exam. In contrast, the English corpus has manifested a sceptical view on this system and the worries of losing independence through conceptualizing the system as a ‘lock’ and a ‘cap’. By analyzing the grammatical relations between the search word ‘market’ and its collocates in three corpora she had compiled (Mandarin, Malay and English), Chung (2008) observes

that her Malay corpus shows a stronger preference to conceptualize the ‘market’ as a receiver when compared with her other two corpora.

In addition to the two main strands of corpus-based metaphor research, the corpus method helps to prove the empirical stance of contemporary metaphor theory and suggests the limitations of a theory of thought in explaining language. For instance with the help of Wordsmith Tools (Scott 2004), Semino (2008) investigates the validity of the conceptual metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A BUSINESS proposed by Lakoff and Johnson. Specifically, Semino explores whether the lexical item ‘rich’ helps realize the target domain, life as business in this conceptual metaphor. Her empirical results show that the adjective ‘rich’ does not frequently relate business with life although business is always associated with wealth in the contemporary world.

In textual analysis, Cameron (2006) and Semino (2008) suggest that corpus methods may help in searching for metaphorical ‘signals or ‘tuning devices’ in a corpus. Cameron (2006) points out that hedging (an alternative to ‘tuning device’) such as *sort of* are observed before the linguistic metaphor. Semino (2008) observes the expressions ‘as it were’ and ‘literally’ in her corpus help signal to the readers whether the co-texts following it should be interpreted metaphorically or literally.

Concerning the methodologies in carrying out these two strands of metaphor research, Deignan (2005) suggests three ways of doing a bottom-up approach of corpus analysis of metaphor, that is, searching for theoretical implications by working on individual linguistic metaphors in a corpus. In the first method, she suggests searching for all the linguistic expressions that realize a particular conceptual metaphor with the help of thesauruses. Then the linguistic expression that realizes the particular conceptual metaphor can be examined through investigating those expressions with the KWIC format. In the second method, she suggests searching for linguistic metaphors in a small corpus manually before testing out hypotheses in a larger corpus. Finally, she suggests working collaboratively with the lexicographers in searching for the metaphorical use of the targeted lexicons in their corpus. As there is no software available for automatically tracking metaphors, the search for linguistic metaphors in a corpus by any of these three suggestions or other methods can only be done manually. In conducting metaphor research in a specific genre, for example economic discourse, Henderson's and Hewing's (1990) methodology may also be considered although their methodology is not only focused on metaphor. In order to investigate how abstraction in economics is delineated, they analyze the syntactic structure of some common terms in economic discourse. They observe that verbs of

movement and nominalization are the two ways to help build abstract models. That is to say they looked at the transitivity option (transitive versus intransitive) and the mood system (active versus passive) of the verbs and investigate if the nouns are nominalized or in nominal groups.

### 3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, popular metaphors employed in economic discourse have been explained. They are the mechanistic, organic and spatial metaphors. In addition, the advantages of applying corpus methods to metaphor research have also been discussed. That is to say corpus methods help explore the collocational and colligational patterns of the linguistic metaphor, investigate the validity and provide empirical data of the targeted conceptual metaphor. Moreover corpus methods can help explore the semantic preference and semantic prosody of a linguistic pattern, therefore evaluations and opinions of the writers can be uncovered. Building on the methodologies suggested by Deignan, Henderson and Hewings, the commonly used word ‘economy’ is taken as a cultural key word to investigate what thinking, attitudes and values are attached to the metaphor used in describing this word in the economic discourse in two distinct languages, English and Chinese. Moreover a pilot study

was carried out before looking into all the data. In the next chapter, the methodology and background of this study and the findings of my pilot study will be explained.



## Chapter 4: Methodologies and the pilot study

### Introduction

Having discussed the conventional metaphors manifested in economic discourse and the methodologies of carrying out corpus-based metaphor research, two corpora based on the economic news articles from a British newspaper and a Hong Kong newspaper were compiled in order to compare the conceptual metaphors describing the search word, ‘economy’ in these two languages. In the first place, the aims of my study, background of the data and the methodologies employed to facilitate my study are provided. Following them are the findings of the pilot study. Finally, a brief explanation of how further analysis in the whole corpora was carried out is provided.

### 4.1 Background of my study

#### 4.1.1 The aim of my study

My study intends to compare the conceptual metaphors manifested in conceptualizing the search word, ‘economy’, in the economic news articles from two different languages, English and Chinese. In order to facilitate the study, two corpora of data sourced from two newspapers, *The Guardian* in the UK and

the *Hong Kong Economic Journal* newspaper (*Xin Bao* 信報) were compiled.

Literally, the Chinese name of the Hong Kong Economic Journal newspaper (*Xin Bao* 信報) means ‘trust’ or ‘believe’. In the study, similar conceptual metaphors are expected to emerge in both corpora. For instance, primary metaphors such as MORE IS UP and DOWN IS BAD, and the popular metaphors in economic discourse THE ECONOMY IS A HUMAN BEING, THE ECONOMY IS A PLANT, A WEAK ECONOMY IS A SICK HUMAN BEING and the like are expected to emerge in both corpora. For instance, primary metaphors such as MORE IS UP and DOWN IS BAD, and the popular metaphors in economic discourse THE ECONOMY IS A HUMAN BEING, THE ECONOMY IS A PLANT, A WEAK ECONOMY IS A SICK HUMAN BEING and the like are expected to emerge in both corpora. Meanwhile, as the news articles were written by journalists from two distinct cultures, differences are expected to occur. As mentioned in Chapter Three, cross-cultural variations in conceptual metaphors can be observed at three levels, i) the same conceptual metaphors but different linguistic expressions; ii) different metaphors; and iii) different metaphorical extensions of the same literal expressions (Deignan 1999). The comparison of the two corpora in my study was also conducted at these three levels. Through comparing the cross-cultural

variations of the metaphors in these two corpora, the study also attempts to explore the ideas, thinking, values and attitudes of the two places in relation to the ideas surrounding 'economy'.

#### 4.1.2 The data

The two newspapers were selected in my study as they have displayed considerable similarities. Both newspapers are significant, left-wing newspapers in their respective countries, publishing from Monday to Saturday and are associated with a sister publication. The *Hong Kong Economic Journal Monthly* is a sister magazine of the *Hong Kong Economic Journal* while the *Observer* is the sister newspaper of the *Guardian* which only publishes on Sundays. The *Hong Kong Economic Journal* is a Chinese newspaper published in Hong Kong since 1973. It mainly reports economic news and current affairs, with a small portion of soft news.

The *Guardian* is a famous broadsheet founded by John Edward Taylor and first published as a weekly newspaper in 1821. It then became a daily newspaper in 1855. It was bought by C P Scott in 1907. According to Scott, the values and

principles of the newspaper were to uphold independence and deliver the truth.

As he wrote in the article named 'A Hundred Years', celebrating the centenary of the newspaper, 'comment is free, but facts are sacred' (see <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2002/nov/29/1>). As stated in *The Guardian* website as well, *The Guardian* has a long history of editorial and political independence. It has a long history of supporting left wing and radical viewpoints. Many readers of *The Guardian* are found to be Labour Party voters. Concerning the language, the newspaper employs language ranging from formal to informal, making the newspaper widespread and easily understood among the general public of different classes.

According to the GNM (Guardian News and Media Press Office) readers' surveys conducted in years 2006 and 2007 about their newspapers, (see <http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Guardian/documents/2006/10/27/SocialAuditcomparisonsreport.pdf> and

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/values/sustainability2007/story/0,,2195389,00.html>), the respondents replied that *The Guardian* was read for its liberal viewpoint. They also agreed that the products of GNM (*The Guardian*, *The Observer* and *The Guardian Unlimited*) represent the composition of British society relatively

well. The newspapers are trustworthy and are relevant in today's society.

Overall, the newspapers are valued as having a significant influence on the ethical behaviour of many readers.

The *Hong Kong Economic Journal* newspaper (hereafter HKEJ) was established in 1973 by the journalists Joy Shan Kung (current editor), Yan Chiu Cho (current editor) and Hang Chi Lam (founder of the newspaper). The newspaper can be regarded as a left-wing newspaper as the journalists of this newspaper are used to being outspoken concerning government policies in Hong Kong. It is believed that the stance of the newspaper has not changed since the handover in 1997. It has a good reputation both under British sovereignty and after the handing over of Hong Kong to China. The newspaper holds a high credibility among the Chinese general public in the Hong Kong SAR, Mainland China and Taiwan. As the statement from the HKEJ official website claims,

‘HKEJ is the most credible newspaper in the eyes of our peers, according to three consecutive rounds of survey conducted from 1996 to 2006 by the School of Journalism and Communication at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. It is highly regarded by the Chinese communities across the Taiwan Strait and overseas’ (see <http://hkejsales.com/aboutus.html>).

In terms of language style, the language used in the Hong Kong newspaper is a combination of Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese Chinese. If necessary, English

translations of special economic terms and names of international companies are included in the news articles. Prior to 1997, Cantonese Chinese was merely a spoken language among Hong Kong people while the formal Mandarin Chinese was the written language. Mandarin Chinese was taught as the main type of written language at schools but the general public still used Cantonese Chinese for daily communication. The situation gradually changed after 1997, Cantonese Chinese is used more often in writing articles, including newspaper articles. Moreover the influence of the Chinese language used in Mainland China was more obvious in Hong Kong newspapers after the handover in 1997. Many phrases and slang which are mainly used by the Mainland Chinese have been observed in the Hong Kong newspapers since year 1997. The combination of the Cantonese Chinese, Mandarin Chinese and slang and phrases from Mainland China in the HKEJ has made the newspaper look similar to the *Guardian*, a broadsheet newspaper which is often arranged as a style from formal to informal.

#### 4.1.3 Data collection

News articles from the Guardian UK and The Hong Kong Economic Journal were extracted from *Proquest* and *Wiseneews* respectively. Both websites provide search engines which help researchers to select the specific articles they require. Through

the *Proquest* website, I first selected the newspaper from which I wished to obtain my news articles. Secondly, in the ‘Advanced search’ option, I typed the search words ‘economy’ and ‘finance’ in the search box provided. Then I typed the specific year (2006) from which the specific articles were to be extracted. Finally the search engine automatically displayed all the articles in relation to economy and finance in year 2006 in the Guardian UK. In the *Wiseneews* website, similarly, in the first place, I selected the newspaper, the HKEJ and the website automatically showed all the news articles included in this newspaper. By choosing the word ‘economy’, the search engine automatically displayed all the news articles related to economy. In the *Wiseneews*, ‘finance’ was not selected as the search word as it was observed that articles related to finance were mostly composed of names of the listed companies and the ups and downs of their prices. In other words, the news related to finance in the HKEJC were mostly names of different listed companies and a lot of figures. As my study focuses on metaphors, these finance articles which contain mostly names of companies and figures were excluded.

After extracting all the articles, they were saved as 12 text documents according to the 12 months in a year, in an attempt to distinguish whether the choice of metaphors would be affected by the seasons as Boers (2003) observes.

In total, the corpus consisting of articles from the Hong Kong Economic Journal (hereafter HKEJC) contains around 5.2 million words while the Corpus consisting of articles from the *Guardian* (UKGC) includes around 4.2 million words. The data discussed below from both the HKEJC and the UKGC are made up of 12 subsections. Each subsection corresponds to one calendar month. Each subsection will be categorized as UKGC\_month/year or HKEJC\_month/year, for example, data discussed from the December edition of the HKEJC will be categorized as HKEJC\_dec/06. Similarly, data discussed from December edition of the UKGC is UKGC\_dec/06 (please see the total number of tokens in each month in Table 4.1 below).

Table 4.1 Total number of tokens in each month in the UKGC and HKEJC (per 1,000 words)

Months	UKGC	HKEJC	Months	UKGC	HKEJC
January	375	350	July	353	528
February	320	403	August	285	444
March	411	477	September	346	392
April	334	347	October	373	470
May	400	447	November	358	416
June	338	449	December	280	430

All concordance lines of the search words, ‘economy’ (including economies and economic) and ‘*jing ji*’ (‘經濟’, meaning ‘economy’) were further extracted with the concordance function of the software Wordsmith Tool 4.0 (Scott 1996). In the



study, the search words, ‘economy’ (including economies and economic) and ‘economy’ (*jing ji*, 經濟) is written as **economy** (in bold type).

Since Chinese words are pictograms there is not a space between each word (or character). This feature has made the main software tool used in this study, the Wordsmith Tool 4, unable to display the two words ‘*jing ji*’ (economy 經濟) in the HKEJC in Key Words In Context format (KWIC) as one meaningful unit. Thus specific software called ICTCLAS (Institute of Computing Technology, Chinese Lexical Analysis System) was utilized to help segment the Chinese into sentences with spaces among meaningful units before the two words ‘*jing ji*’ (economy 經濟) could be displayed as one meaningful unit in Wordsmith Tool 4.

In order to ensure an accurate translation of the technical terms in my Chinese data, postgraduate students and teachers teaching economics were consulted for special help during the translation processes. Moreover, due to the different syntactic structure between the Chinese and English languages, literal translation of the Chinese data may add confusion to the readers. Therefore, the translation was based on the sentence structure of the English language. However, where appropriate, the literal translations of the important Chinese words and phrases were provided if they

are useful for comparison in my study in order to let the readers have a clearer understanding of the usage of these words and phrases in a Chinese context.

#### 4.2 Screening processes used to identify metaphorical concordance lines containing the term ‘economy’

According to the *Collins CoBuild Dictionary* (2003:449), there are eight senses of the search word, **economy** (including economies and economic; please refer to the Dictionary for full details of all the eight senses).

In my study, only the concordance lines which referred to the first two senses of the words ‘economy’ and ‘economies’ and the one sense of ‘economic’ were included.

These senses are:

- i. ‘The economy as the system according to which the money, industry, and trade of a country or region are organized’ (*Collins Cobuild Dictionary* 2003:449).
- ii. A country’s *economy* is the wealth that its get from business and industry.
- iii. *Economic* means concerned with the organization of the money, industry, and trade of a country, region or society.

In the first instance, concordance lines indicating senses of the **economy** other than the meanings cited above were excluded. For example, in some of the concordance

lines, the search word, **economy**, simply refers to the attempt of saving money (*Collins Cobuild Dictionary* 2003:448). Accordingly, these lines were excluded.

Next as my study focused on metaphor only, it was necessary to filter the non-metaphorical lines of the search word, **economy**. The screening process was done manually as an automatic screening application for metaphor is not available.

The screening method was based on the ‘metaphor identification procedure’ (MIP) suggested by the Pragglejaz group (2007). Devised by a group of linguists, MIP aims at determining if a word may be considered as conveying metaphorical meaning in its context. According to MIP, if the word examined has a ‘more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context, it can be marked as metaphorical’ (p.3). In general, the basic meaning of a word tends to be ‘more concrete and precise (in nouns), related to bodily action (in verbs) and is historically older’ (p.3). In my study, the *Collin’s CoBuild Dictionary* and the *Oxford Online Etymology Dictionary* were used as references to help decide the basic meaning of the words in the UKGC. For the HKEJC, *Xian Dai Han Yu Ci Dian* (*The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary* 2008) and *Lin Yutang’s Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage* (on-line version since 1999) were used as references. If necessary, the Bank of English, the Sinica Corpus (from Taiwan) and the

Polytechnic University Lexicon for Chinese (from Hong Kong) were consulted to collect more information on the usage of certain collocations.

Following the test results demonstrated by the Pragglejaz group (2007), in the UKGC, meanings related to bodily actions of verbs such as ‘make’, ‘bring’, ‘hand over’ and the like were taken as their basic meanings in my study. Moreover although many metaphors tend to be treated as ‘dead’ by conventional linguists, as Lakoff and Johnson argue, both of the metaphorical and non-metaphorical meanings of many ‘dead’ metaphors are indeed alive. Therefore, in line with the approach taken by the Pragglejaz group (2007), popular conventional economic terms observed in the two corpora in this research such as ‘emerges’ and ‘depression’ were treated as metaphorical. Nouns and verbs assessing contribution such as ‘benefit’, ‘cost’, ‘advantage’, ‘disadvantage’, ‘improve’ (*gǎi shàn* 改善 or *hǎo zhuǎn* 好轉), ‘performance’ (*biǎo xiàn* 表現) were also treated as metaphorical. As explained in the *Collins CoBuild Dictionary*, these words help illustrate the abstract concept of **economy** by describing it as a person or a concrete object.

Although prepositions such as ‘to’ and ‘of’ were treated as non-metaphorical in the tests done by the Pragglejaz group, in some occasions, the preposition ‘to’ helped delineate the abstract **economy** as a destination (or a goal) and ‘of’ helped modify the

abstract **economy** as a concrete object which can be divided up. Thus, in these cases, these concordance lines were treated as metaphorical (please see some of the examples below).

41 ... essential to making the necessary cuts as part of the drive towards a **low carbon economy**.

90 ... which is estimated to underpin up to 25% of the "**knowledge economy**".

#### 4.3 Methodologies used to compare the metaphors in the two corpora

Adapted from Deignan's (2005) second methodology for conducting metaphor research, a pilot study based on the data in the two December sub-folders of the two corpora was conducted before looking into the whole corpora. The two December sub-corpora, namely UKGC\_dec/06 and HKEJC\_dec/06 were selected as a pilot study in order to capture a preliminary picture of the source domains and of the conceptual metaphors manifested in the economic news articles in the two sub-folders. The total word count for sub-folder HKEJC\_dec/06 was around 430,937 items. The equivalent UKGC\_dec/06 was 280,341 items. Due to the sentence structure of Chinese language, the total word count of the Chinese data was bigger than the English data. As suggested by Tognini-Bonelli (2001) (please refer to Chapter Three, section 3.2), a corpus built up of whole documents can facilitate a wider range of linguistic studies since linguistic patterns tend not to be distributed

evenly throughout a whole text. Therefore, the lengths of the articles in the HKEJC were kept as they were. After wordlists for both corpora had been created with Wordsmith Tool 4, the screening process for the search word **economy** (including economy, economies, economic and ‘*jing ji*’(which means econom/y/ies/ic, 經濟)) was carried out in order to filter out non-metaphorical uses. Then, the metaphorical lines of the two December sub-folders were investigated. Collocations of **economy** were investigated manually to identify the types of source domains employed and thus the conceptual metaphors manifested to conceptualize the search word **economy** in both corpora. Frequency counts of the source domains in the two pilot corpora were also compared to explore the saliency of source domains in these two corpora. While comparing the two pilot corpora, attention was paid to explore if the variations are cultural-specific. Moreover, following Henderson and Hewing’s methodology (1990), syntactic structures of the concordance lines were also examined where appropriate. That is the analysis of the mood system and the transitivity options in the linguistic metaphor.

Due to the limited space in this chapter, only the findings of the top four source domains in the two pilot corpora are discussed in the following sub-sections.

#### 4.4 Categorization of the source domains in the two pilot corpora

After the screening processes, there are in total 324 and 710 metaphorical expressions of the search word, **economy** in UKGC\_dec/06 and HKEJC\_dec/06 respectively (see Appendices C and D for the lists of metaphorical lines in the two pilot corpora). In order to compare the two sub-corpora on the same footing, the frequencies of these metaphorical expressions per 100,000 words were calculated (see Table 4.2 on p.160). In every 100,000 words the total number of metaphorical expressions describing the **economy** is rather close in both corpora, with the HKEJC\_dec/06 (165 instances) slightly higher than the UKGC\_dec/06 (117 instances).

These metaphorical expressions were grouped under different categories. Table 4.2 (page 160) shows the lists of categories and their respective frequencies in the two pilot corpora. These source domains are similar to the categorization in other research in economic discourse (please refer to Chapter Three for details). However, due to the differences in translation, the technical terms ‘boom’ and ‘booming’ were grouped under different source domains in the two corpora. In the *Guardian* pilot corpus, this technical term was grouped under the category, SOUND because this term originally referred to a loud, deep sound. For instance,

24 ... created in the private sector thanks to a booming **economy**," said Mr Prasad. "If Singh really wants ...  
 25 ... over the military school – evidence of the booming **economy** – paused only briefly to gaze down at the ...  
 44 The German economy is experiencing a very strong **economic** boom." Institutional investors are enter ...

However this term was mainly translated as *chàng wàng* (暢旺), *xīng wàng* (興旺) or ‘*fán róng*’ (繁榮 ‘prosperity’) in the Hong Kong pilot corpus. The original meaning of the first two translations refers to the high intensity of heat, therefore the concordance lines where the term ‘boom’ was translated as *chàng wàng* (暢旺) and *xīng wàng* (興旺) were grouped under the source domain TEMPERATURE. The concordance lines whereby the English term ‘boom’ was translated as ‘*fán róng*’ (繁榮 ‘prosperity’) were grouped under the source domain LIVING ORGANISMS.

In both corpora, the source domain VERTICAL MOVEMENTS OF ANONYMOUS OBJECTS was observed in both corpora. This source domain helps conceptualize the movements of the **economy** as vertical movements of an object. As explained in Chapter Three, upward and downward movements normally help connote the good and bad performances of the **economy**. However, a special collocation, ‘towards good’ (*xiàng hào* 向好), which refers the promising prospects of the **economy** as a direction was observed in the Hong Kong pilot corpus. As the English translation shows, the direction illustrated in this collocation is not related to any kind of physical direction. In this collocation, a good prospect for the **economy** is metaphorized as



the direction that the **economy** is heading towards. Since this collocation is not related to vertical movements, concordance lines concerning this collocation are grouped under the new category, OTHER DIRECTIONS.

In addition to this new category, three more new categories were added in these two pilot corpora and a culture-specific source domain, DYNASTY, was observed in the HKEJC\_dec/06. The three new categories are the ASSESSMENTS, CONTESTS, and ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES. These three new categories and the source domain DYNASTY are explained in Table 4.2 on page 161.

Table 4.2 Frequencies of the source domains describing the **economy** in the two pilot corpora

Source domains	UKGC (raw freq.)	HKEJC (raw freq.)	UKGC (per 100,000 words)	HKEJC (per 100,000 words)
LIVING ORGANISMS	104	383	37	88.9
OBJECTS	48	54	17	12.5
CONTAINERS	41	44	15	10.2
MECHANICAL PROCESSES	35	53	12.5	12.3
VERTICAL MOVEMENTS OF ANONYMOUS OBJECTS	21	29	8	6.7
BUILDING	24	19	9	4.4
CONTEST	7	/	3	/
ASSESSMENT	/	24	/	5.6
LOCATIONS	2	2	0.7	0.5
WAR	3	3	1	0.7
WEATHER	4	2	1	0.5
SOUND	6	1	2	0.2
LIQUID	/	6	/	1.4
FLYING	/	10	/	2.3
GAMBLE	/	1	/	0.2
LANDING	/	11	/	2.6
DYNASTY	/	5	/	1.2
ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES	20	11	7	2.6
SPEED	7	28	3	6.5
TEMPERATURE	0	16	/	3.7
OTHER DIRECTIONS	1	7	0.4	1.6
OTHERS	1	2	0.4	0.5
Total:	324	710	117	165

Among all the metaphorical expressions, expressions related to the theme ‘assessment’ were observed in both corpora. Words such as ‘improve’ (*gǎi shàn* 改善 or *hǎo zhuǎn* 好轉), ‘performance’ (*biǎo xiàn* 表現) can be observed in the HKEJC\_dec/06. As these collocations are applicable to both animate and inanimate entities, they were grouped together and named under the source domain ASSESSMENT. Although collocations concerning the theme ‘assessments’ can also be observed in the UKGC\_dec/06, the collocations related to assessment are more specific to the ranks in contests (see some examples below). Therefore, these collocations were grouped under the source domain CONTESTS instead of ASSESSMENT in the UKGC\_dec/06.

92 ... UK happens to be the fifth largest **economy** in the world ...

212 ... The **economy** cannot become world class without the ...

5 ... China, the US and Japan will be the top three **economies** in the world ...

In addition, collocations such as ‘contribute’, ‘cost’ and ‘benefit’ can be observed in both corpora. Conventionally these words are treated as ‘dead’ metaphors. Indeed, these words help metaphorize the **economy** as if a doer or a recipient that can bring or receive advantages and disadvantages. Similar to the collocations observed in the source domains ASSESSMENT and CONTEST, these collocations can be applied to both animate and inanimate entities, therefore they were

grouped together and named as a new source domain, ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES. Below are some of the examples.

*Advantages:*

- 154 ... council. "Clearly markets still contribute to the **economy**," says Graham Wilson, chief executive of ...
- 157 ...and he argued that more roads can be good for the **economy**. Road building looks set to go to on ...
- 448 ... but the **Hong Kong economy** is also benefitted ...  
(...但 本港经济 亦能 受惠...)
- 704 ... beneficial to the **Hong Kong economy** ...  
(...惠及 香港经济...)

*Disadvantages:*

- 160 ... we don't improve our roads, it will cost the **economy** £22bn in 17 years' time. Or whatever ...
- 167... of Fair Trading has put a price on the cost to the **economy** of not making more government data freely ...
- 17 ... the weaknesses of the US dollar are not harmful to the **economy** ...  
(... 美元 弱势 并非 不利 经济...)
- 426 The high alcohol tax is harmful to the **Hong Kong economy** ...  
(... 酒税 过高 不利 本港经济...)

In the HKEJC pilot corpus, collocations which tend to describe the states of a dynasty were observed, as in ‘rise and decline’ (*xīng shuāi* 兴衰), ‘rise and decline’ (*shèng shuāi* 盛衰), ‘heyday’ (*shèng shì* 盛世) and ‘assist the dynasty’ (*kuāng fú* 匡扶). These collocations help compare the performance of the **economy** with the achievements of a dynasty, realizing the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A DYNASTY. These culture-specific collocations were grouped together under the source domain, DYNASTY. These collocations suggest that the hierarchy derived from imperialism still has its influence over the Chinese people.

16 ... the rise and decline of the **economy** usually have a decisive influence on election ...  
(...经济 盛衰 通常 对 竞选 结果 有 举足轻重 的 影响...)

292 ... the rise and decline of **Hong Kong economy** is inseparable from Mainland ...  
(... 香港经济 兴衰 已跟 内地 密不可分...)

491 ... but their income and assets rose sharply in the heyday of the **economy** before the handover ...  
(...但 他们 的 收入 与 资产 财富 却 随着 回归前 的 经济 盛世 而 节节上升...)

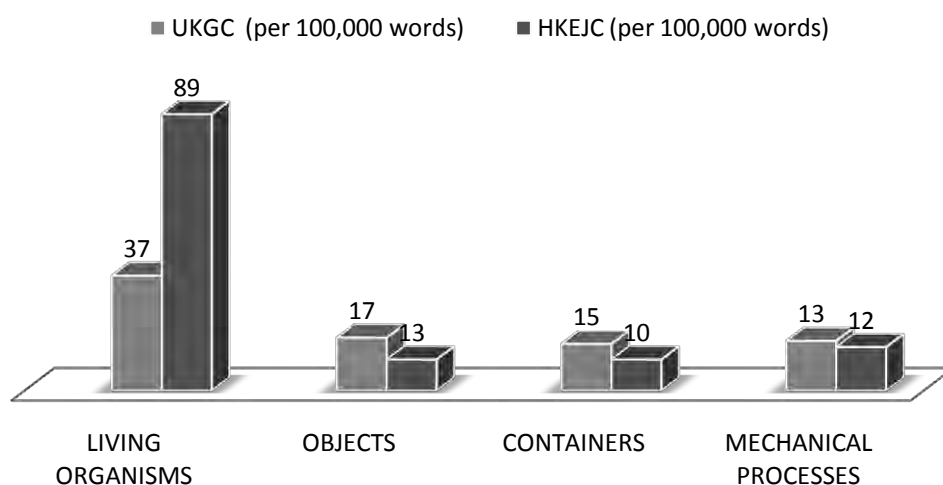
682 ... launching the individual traveller's package and CEPA (close economic partnership arrangement) in order to assist the **Hong Kong economy** (as a dynasty) ...  
(...推出 自由行 和 更紧密 经贸关系 政策 , 目的 都是 匡扶 香港经济...)

The second part of this chapter will turn to the analysis of the top four source domains in both pilot corpora.

#### 4.5 Analysis of the top four source domains in both corpora

The top four source domains describing the **economy** in the two corpora are very similar. They are LIVING ORGANISMS, OBJECTS, CONTAINERS and MECHANICAL PROCESSES. Frequencies of these top four source domains in the two pilot corpora per 100,000 words are shown in Figure 4.1(p.165).

**Figure 4.1 Frequencies of the top four source domains in describing the search word economy in the two pilot corpora**



Among these four top source domains, the frequency of the source domain LIVING ORGANISMS is higher in the HKEJC than in the UKGC while the frequencies of the other three are very similar in both corpora. It is believed that the Chinese translations of some technical terms may give rise to the much higher frequency of the source domain LIVING ORGANISMS in the Hong Kong pilot corpus than in the Guardian pilot corpus. As mentioned earlier, the technical terms ‘boom’ and ‘booming’ which were observed in the *Guardian* pilot corpus may be translated as ‘*fán róng*’(繁荣 ‘prosperity’) in the Hong Kong pilot corpus, a stage in a life cycle of living organisms. This may explain why the frequency of the source domain LIVING ORGANISMS in the HKEJC\_dec/06 is much higher than in the UKGC\_dec/06.

Although the source domains LIVING ORGANISMS, OBJECTS, CONTAINERS and MECHANICAL PROCESSES appear to be the most salient source domains observed in both pilot corpora, subtle differences can still be observed in these source domains between the two corpora. For instance, the source domains differ in their choice of collocations, as in the different choices describing details of the containers in the two pilot corpora (see sections 4.5.1 iii and 4.5.2 iv for details). The evaluations encoded in some of the syntactic patterns of these source domains may show some differences.

In terms of frequency, although the source domain VERTICAL MOVEMENTS OF ANONYMOUS OBJECTS is not one of the top four source domains in either of the December sub-corpora, indeed the SPATIAL metaphor (vertical movements) is still an important type of metaphor describing the **economy** since many of the collocations in the source domains such as BUILDING, LIVING ORGANISMS and FLYING also connote vertical movements (below are some of the examples taken from the two pilot corpora).

*Downward movements:*

263. Fears that the US **economy** is set to slump in 2007 were allayed ...

46 ... use the conference to refocus on the collapsing economy and ...

451 ...the market is very worried that these two **economic pillars will completely collapse** ...

(... 市场 深深 忧虑 这 两条 **经济 支柱** 一沉不起...)

*Upward movements:*

275 ... nowadays, the **Mainland economy** has taken off, many people went to the Mainland ...  
(... 如今 **大陆经济** 起飞 , 人们 则 走到 大陆...)

Moreover mixed metaphors were observed from both pilot corpora (see Appendix E). As mentioned in Chapter One, the emergence of mixed metaphors helps indicate that meaning construction processes are dynamic. In the following subsections concerning the findings of the two pilot corpora, some of the mixed metaphors are explained.

#### 4.5.1 Findings of the top four source domains in the UKGC\_dec/06

The conceptual metaphors realized by these top four source domains in the *Guardian* pilot corpora are listed below and they are discussed in the following sub-sections.

- a. THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM
- b. THE ECONOMY IS AN OBJECT
- c. THE ECONOMY IS A CONTAINER
- d. ECONOMIC PROCESSES ARE MECHANICAL PROCESSES

- a. THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM

Collocations which help metaphorize the **economy** as a living organism were further divided into five main types (See Table 4.3 on p.168).



Table 4.3 Collocations realizing the source domain LIVING ORGANISMS in UKGC\_dec/06

Types of collocations	Lexical items
i. The growth of the <b>economy</b>	grow (including all forms of grow)
ii The life cycle of the <b>economy</b>	cycle, prosperous, develop, fruit, flagging, mature, stimulate, burgeon
iii. The strength and physical appearance of the <b>economy</b>	‘strong’, ‘weak’, ‘strengthened’, ‘exhausted’, ‘weaken’, ‘strength’, ‘muscle’, ‘in good shape’, ‘heart’
iv. The actions done by or affecting the <b>economy</b>	‘helped’, ‘doing’, ‘hand over’, ‘made by’, ‘close the gap’, ‘being stifled’, ‘harming’, ‘feed through to the economy’, ‘is set to slump’, ‘liberalism’,
v. The mental states and emotions of the <b>economy</b>	‘sleeps’, ‘lose’, ‘adapt’, ‘in danger’, ‘dependent’, ‘enjoy’, ‘experiencing’, ‘need’, ‘depends on’, ‘run riot’, ‘divorced from’
vi. The health of the <b>economy</b>	‘faltering’, ‘sickly pallor’, ‘recovery’. ‘economic health’
v. Relationship of the <b>economy</b> with other entities	‘divorced from’, ‘economic ties’

It is conventional to describe the **economy** as a living organism endowed with a visual appearance as if it can carry out various activities; is sentient as if it can feel; and possesses mental abilities as if it can think. Moreover, similar to other research (see Chapter Three for details), the progress of the **economy** is often captured as a growing living organism and its fluctuations are described in terms of the stages in a life cycle. The problematic or weak **economy** is also metaphorized as a patient. The sub-metaphors realized by these six types of collocations are discussed below.

i. THE ECONOMY IS GROWING and ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS ARE STAGES IN A LIFE CYCLE

The word 'grow' (including all forms of 'grow') is the major collocation that comes under this source domain. As explained in the previous chapter, development of the **economy** is conventionally delineated as growth in living things. For instance

18 ... Thailand was one of Asia's fast-growing **economies** in the early 1990s ...

190 Recent data shows that the **economy** is growing more slowly than predicted ...

44 ... the **economy** would grow by 2.75% this year.

105 ... The **economy** has grown by a third in the past five years ...

Another major collocation that comes under this source domain is 'cycle'. This collocation helps delineate the fluctuations in the **economy** as periodical. As explained in the *Dictionary of Economics* (HarperCollins 2000:50), fluctuations in the level of economic activities normally occur periodically. Its periodic performance is often illustrated as a cycle with four stages, namely *depression*, *recovery*, *boom* and *recession*. Indeed, these terms are in themselves metaphorical.

In the UKGC, collocations which are frequently employed to describe these stages of the **economy** include 'regeneration', 'development', 'revive', 'stimulate', 'burgeoning', 'flagging', 'mature', 'fruit' and 'prosperity'. In general, most of these collocations are conventional economic terms and tended to be applied to plants originally. They work together and help realize the conceptual metaphor

FLUCTUATIONS OF THE ECONOMY ARE STAGES IN A LIFE CYCLE. Table 4.4 below includes some examples illustrating what stages of the **economy** these collocations help delineate.

Table 4.4 Examples metaphorizing the fluctuation of the **economy** as plant life cycle in UKGC\_dec/06

Examples taken from UKGC_dec/06	Stages in an economic cycle
69 ... early cut in interest rates to <u>revive the flagging</u> <b>economy</b> pushed the pound to...	' <i>depression</i> ' or ' <i>recession</i> '
5 ... university at the heart of the economic links and <b>economic</b> <u>regeneration</u> taking place.	' <i>recovery</i> '
9 ...responsible capitalism dedicated to <u>reviving</u> local <b>economies</b> .	
26 ... for helping the UK to compete with the <u>burgeoning</u> <b>economies</b> of China and India.	' <i>boom</i> '
83 ...certainly would not be true for <u>a mature industrial</u> <b>economy</b> like Scotland's.	
18 ... will have dire consequences for <b>economic</b> <u>prosperity</u> and social justice.	
236 ... consider the government's real <u>achievements</u> - the <b>economy</b> and social policy - as <u>the fruit of their own work</u> ...	

As shown in the examples in Table 4.4, collocation such as 'flagging' is employed to describe the stages, *depression* or *recession* of the **economy**. 'Regeneration' and 'revive' are illustrations of the stage, *recovery*, while 'burgeoning', 'mature' and 'prosperity' help describe the stage, *boom*.

In addition, a plant bearing fruits is mapped as the success of the **economy** (in the stage, *boom*). For instance,

236 ... consider the government's real achievements - the **economy** and social policy - as the fruit of their own work.

ii. THE STATES OF THE ECONOMY IS THE PHYSICAL STRENGTH OF A LIVING ORGANISM

As mentioned earlier, the **economy** is often delineated as a living organism endowed with a physical appearance, realizing the conceptual metaphors THE GOOD STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS A STRONG LIVING ORGANISM and THE BAD STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS A WEAK LIVING ORGANISM. For instance,

THE GOOD STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS A STRONG LIVING ORGANISM

132 ... out of date by 2020. The UK has a strong **economy** and record employment ...

196 ... little improvement in the budget deficit as the **economy** has strengthened this year ...

117 ... stock market will go back to normal as the overall **economy** is still in good shape.

THE BAD STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS A WEAK LIVING ORGANISM

187 The **economy** is weak, policymakers seem paralysed ...

281 ...a net 53% of respondents expected the world **economy** to weaken next year ...

Moreover the **economy** is construed as carrying out different kinds of motions involving various kinds of body parts, such as the muscles, the heart, the hands, the legs and the breathing organs (including the nose, the neck and the mouth).

Concerning all the body parts which are utilized to delineate the **economy**, it appears that the conceptualization of the strength of the **economy** as having ‘muscles’ is culture-specific in the English pilot corpus only. As the *Collins CoBuild Dictionary* (2004) explains, ‘muscle’ can be utilized metaphorically to indicate power and influence. On the other hand, as the Chinese dictionaries indicate, ‘muscle’ seldom

connotes a metaphorical meaning in the Chinese language. The employment of this ‘muscle’ metaphor will be discussed in Chapter Five again.

71 ... re-assertion of the underlying **economic muscle** that has powered the New Labour party ...

201 ... to putting learning at the heart of policy and the **economy**, from tourism and finance through to culture...

Moreover the employment of body parts to conceptualize economic processes is often implicit in action verbs, as in ‘stifle’ and ‘feed’. These two action verbs are related to the body parts, ‘the neck’, and ‘the mouth’ (see more examples below). In general, the utilization of action verbs instead of nouns in the body-part metaphors helps conceptualize the **economy** as actively participating in or being affected by economic activities.

*Involving the hands*

241 ... the poor unfortunate **travelling economy** will hand over 3% to the Treasury ...

*Involving the legs and the hands*

48 ... The **economic slump** that has gripped the Palestinian territories this year...

*Involving the nose or neck (breathing)*

34 The **British economy** is being stifled by antiquated planning laws and ...

*Involving the mouth(eating)*

156 ... as the high oil prices from the summer continue to feed through to the **economy** ...

iii. THE STATES OF THE ECONOMY ARE THE MENTAL STATES OF A LIVING ORGANISM

In the UKGC, emotions of a living organism are utilized to describe the performance of the **economy**. For instance, positive emotions (as in ‘enjoy’) of a living organism are mapped as good performance of the **economy**.

35 The **British economy** could enjoy an £80bn boost over the next 30 years ...

Moreover words referring to the mental states of living organisms help delineate the situations of the **economy** in different economic processes, as in ‘need’, ‘adapting’ and ‘experiencing’. As indicated in the examples below, the needs of the **economy** for resources are mapped as the physical needs of living organisms (lines 115 and 276) and the responses of the **economy** in the economic processes are delineated as mental activities of a living organism, as in the verbs ‘adapting’ and ‘experiencing’ (lines 15 and 74).

115 ... Our country and our **economy** need migrant workers, the deportation of...

276 ... whose **economy** depends on the incongruous combination of ...

15 ... cting land is out of date and inappropriate for an **economy** adapting to globalisation and different ...

74 ...early more optimistic than in November. The **German economy** is experiencing a very strong economic boom ...

Moreover, a mixed metaphor combining the organic and building metaphors was observed.

209 ... to show how the long-term transport needs of the **economy** could be dovetailed with sustainable Development ...

As shown by line 209 above, the **economy** is metaphorized as both a living organism with physical needs and an object, most probably a rail. According to the conventional view on metaphor study, mixed metaphors such as this one may appear to create semantic inconsistencies. Müller (2008) explains that CMT appears to be insufficient in explaining this kind of mixed metaphor because the organic metaphor and the building metaphor possess two different sets of correspondence. Therefore it is difficult to explain how the **economy** can be mapped onto these two different sets of correspondence simultaneously. However, the fact that mixed metaphors are common in metaphor production and people can understand these mixed metaphors as quickly as other ‘simple’ metaphors suggests that mixed metaphors do make sense. As Müller (2008) suggests, the blending theory may be more capable of explaining this kind of creative mixed metaphor. By a blending analysis, it can be revealed that only half of the two metaphors are stated in this example. The whole descriptions of the two metaphors are provided below.

The organic metaphor:

<u>If the transportation needs of the economy cannot be met,</u>	<u>the normal functions of the economy cannot</u>
(protasis)	(apodosis)
<u>be maintained.</u>	

The building metaphor:

<u>When the rail has been used for a long period of time and is worn out,</u>	<u>it will be dovetailed.</u>
(protasis)	(apodosis)

As shown by the above illustrations, both of these two metaphors help illustrate the damage to an **economy** if it is overburdened after a long period of time. However, in the blending processes, only the protasis of the organic metaphors ('the transportation needs of the **economy**') and the apodosis of the building metaphor ('it will be dovetailed') are selected for blending. In other words, the apodosis of the organic metaphor ('the normal functions of the **economy**') and the protasis of the building metaphor ('when the rail has been used for a long time and is worn out') are omitted when they are blended together, resulting in the mixed metaphor in the example. Indeed, in the two pilot corpora, mixed metaphors were also observed in other source domains. Other mixed metaphors observed in the two corpora will be discussed later.

#### iv. THE PROBLEMATIC AND WEAK ECONOMY IS A PATIENT

Resembling a living organism, the **economy** may get sick. Collocations related to health and illnesses such as 'sickly pallor', 'faltering' and 'recovery' which help describe the weaknesses and the problems of the **economy** were observed, realizing the conceptual metaphor A WEAK/PROBLEMATIC ECONOMY IS A PATIENT.

16 ... a reward for the extraordinary **economic** recovery that followed the big dip.

265 ... the dollar's level has weak foundations - the US **economy** is faltering...

271 ... a depreciating currency will give the US **economy** a sickly pallor for a while...



## v. ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IS FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

In the Guardian pilot corpus, a few concordance lines of mappings of economic relationship as family relationship were observed. For instance,

6 ... dices are becoming "increasingly divorced from the **economies** with which they are nominally associated" ...

11 ... while Russia and China, both of which have close economic ties with Iran, have been arguing in favour ...

From the above examples, the collocations, ‘divorced from’ and ‘close economic ties’ indicate that the intensity of an economic relationship is delineated in terms of family relationship. In the sub-section related to the findings in the Hong Kong pilot corpus, it will be explained that the same metaphor was manifested in this corpus. However, different kinds of collocations were observed (see section 4.5.2 i for details).

### b. THE ECONOMY IS AN OBJECT

The collocations conceptualizing the **economy** as an object are mainly related to its size and shape. The **economy** comprising of different sectors is described as an object which can be divided into different parts (please refer to some of the examples below).

1 ... But the marketplace is not just an economic sphere ...

145 ... David Miliband, is keen for other sectors of the **economy** to follow.

191 ... It split the **economy** into sectors and shared them out...

243 ... which accounts for three-quarters of the UK **economy**, was at 3.7%.

In general, the strength or scale of the **economy** is directly proportional to its size.

As Goatly (2007) points out, a bigger size is associated with being stronger or better.

For instance,

21 ... to translate its western success to Asia's biggest **economy** ...

19 ... diversify operating risks, achieve greater **economies of scale** and have the financial strength ...

The strength of the **economy** can also be mapped as the textures or elasticity of an object, as in 'contract', 'expand' and 'be softened'. Indeed, these collocations imply a change of size. When the **economy** contracts or softens, its size may become smaller or collapsed. In contrast, when it expands, it may become bigger.

As mentioned earlier, big is often associated with being good.

49 ... having to tackle a contracting **economy** whilst inflation is worsening.

182 ... it validates people's views that the **economy** is softening ...

252 ... The UK **economy** expanded at its fastest annual rate ...

Moreover the syntactic structures show that when the **economy** is an object, it tends to be the affected agent in the economic processes. For instance, it can be 'distorted', 'split', 'damaged' and 'controlled'.

171 ... needed to support "free" data will not distort the **economy**.

191 ... It split the **economy** into sectors and shared them out ...

232 ... build a third runway at Heathrow would damage the **economy** and force businesses abroad.

274 ... a mixture of state control over the whole **economy** and enterprising spirit ...

### c. THE ECONOMY IS A CONTAINER

In the *Guardian* pilot corpus, the **economy** tends to be described as a container wherein different activities occur. For example,

- 163 ... account for around half the overall growth in the **economy** over the coming years, with the remainder ...  
195 ... statistics provided evidence that robust growth in the **economy** has started to have an impact on the UK ...  
6 ... is a symptom of deep imbalances in **America's economy**, in particular a tendency to live on ...  
137 ... dashing hopes that momentum elsewhere in the **economy** would outweigh falling housing prices ...  
147 ... investors pumping billions of dollars into the **economy**. The Bank of Thailand said the drastic ...  
180 ... market is gradually seeping into the rest of the **economy**. It seems improbable that the UK economy ...

As shown by the above examples, when the **economy** is described as a container, the co-text does not provide much detail about what kind of container the **economy** is. These container metaphors focus on describing what kinds of activities are occurring or affecting the **economy** in the container (economy). It was observed that these activities are mainly conceptualized as mechanical or biological processes, being manifested in the metaphors ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES ARE MECHANICAL PROCESSES/BIOLOGICAL PROCESSES OCCURRING IN OR AFFECTING THE ECONOMY WHICH IS SEEN AS A CONTAINER.

Mixed metaphors can also be observed in container metaphors in the UKGC. Taking line six from the above as an example, the two source domains describing the

target domain, the ECONOMIES ARE LIVING ORGANISMS (as in ‘symptom’) and MECHANICAL PROCESSES (‘deep imbalances’).

6 ... is a symptom of deep imbalances in **America's economy**, in particular a tendency to live on ...

In terms of CMT, these two source domains carry different sets of correspondences with the target domain, ECONOMY, and thus the CMT cannot explain how these two source domains can combine to conceptualize the target domain, ECONOMY. As also explained in Chapter One, saliency of the meaningful elements is the focus of attention in mixed metaphors. By conducting a blending analysis, it can be observed that the focus of attention in this metaphor lies in the figurative meanings of the two expressions, ‘symptom’ and ‘deep imbalances’. These two expressions refer to the problems in living organisms and mechanical processes. The information that there are problems in the living organisms, the mechanical processes and the **economy** are fused and projected in the blended space, creating the mixed metaphor ‘a symptom of deep imbalances in **America's economy**’.

#### d. ECONOMIC PROCESSES ARE MECHANICAL PROCESS

In the *Guardian* pilot corpus, collocations describing economic processes as mechanical processes are very similar to those observed in previous research (please

refer to Chapter Three for details). Table 4.5 below is a list of collocations observed in the mechanistic metaphor in the UKGC. When economic processes are construed as mechanical processes, the **economy** is either reified as a machine or a vehicle which needs to operate on a track (probably a train).

Table 4.5 Collocations realizing ECONOMIC PROCESSES AS MECHANICAL PROCESSES

Types of collocations	Lexical items
i. The operation of the <b>economy</b> as a machine	‘reduce its emission’, ‘generate’, ‘operating, running the economy from the engine rooms’, ‘power the economy, driver of the economy’, ‘how the economy works’, ‘economy drives’, ‘economic forces’, ‘fuel’, ‘mould’
ii. The efficiency of the <b>economy</b> as a machine	‘increasing its output’, ‘efficiency’, ‘potential’, ‘powerful’, ‘advanced’
iii. The <b>economy</b> as a vehicle	‘on track’, ‘maintaining its current course’, ‘blown off course’
iv. Problems of the <b>economy</b> as collision	‘crashed’, ‘impact on the economy’

When the **economy** is metaphorized as a machine, it can be observed that the economy as a machine can either run on its own or be operated by others.

185 ... that the **economy** is currently operating pretty close to full capacity...

202 ... A brainy chancellor running the **economy** from the engine rooms of the Treasury is one thing ...

In the mechanistic metaphor, the important assets in the **economy** are mapped as the importance of a driver to an engine (see line 250 below) since both of these correspondences can affect the performance of the economy and an engine. Moreover, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the **economy** is mapped as the ‘output’ and ‘efficiency’ of a machine (lines 266 and 20 on p.181).

250 ... the capital's role as a driver of the UK **economy** is threatened ...

266 ... impression of these and other recent figures is of a US **economy** increasing its output at about 2% to 2.5% ...

20 ... by a Labour party not previously celebrated for **economic** efficiency is an added endorsement ...

When the **economy** is reified as a vehicle, it is usually a vehicle which needs to run on a track or follow its course, such as a train or a ship. As explained in Chapter Three, the mechanistic metaphor emphasizes the importance of the impersonal and rule-based aspect of the economics. Therefore, as cited in the example below, the importance of the **economy** to function in accordance with orders and rules is metaphorized as the need for a ship to follow a course.

177 ... subject to the **economy** maintaining its current course, we are expecting fairly steady growth ...

In contrast, a malfunctioning **economy** that cannot follow the regular rules resembles an 'off-track' ship incapable of maintaining a scheduled course (line 186).

186 This does not leave much room for manoeuvre if the **economy** is blown off course.

Damage done to the **economy** due to external factors is described as a collision (as in 'crashed' and 'impact' in lines 260, 53 and 55 below).

260 ... which continued to rise until the unfettered **economy** duly crashed.

53 The **economic** impact of museums is estimated at £1.5bn

55 The **economic** impact of [carousel] fraud continues to have a negative impact on the UK economy.

#### 4.5.2. Analysis of the top four source domains in the HKEJC\_dec/06

Similar to the UKGC\_dec/06, the same sub-metaphors are also manifested in the HKEJC\_dec/06. These sub-metaphors are discussed in turn below.

##### a. THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM

Table 4.6 below contains a list of collocations observed in the HKEJC\_dec/06. As shown by the Table, the collocations can be divided into seven main types and most of the collocations are similar to those observed in the UKGC.

Table 4.6 The seven types of collocations realizing the source domain LIVING ORGANISMS in the HKEJC\_dec/06

Types of collocations	Collocations
i. The growth of the <b>economy</b>	‘growth’ ( <i>chéng zhǎng</i> / <i>zēng zhǎng</i> 成长/增长)
ii. The life cycle of the <b>economy</b>	‘cycle’ ( <i>zhōu qī</i> 周期), ‘develop’ ( <i>fā zhǎn</i> 发展), ‘revive’ ( <i>fù sū</i> 复苏), ‘prosperity’ ( <i>fán róng</i> 繁荣), ‘wither and shrink’ ( <i>wěi suō</i> 萎缩), ‘fruit’ ( <i>chéng guǒ</i> 成果), ‘flag’ ( <i>bù zhèn</i> 不振), ‘the golden age’ ( <i>huáng jīn suì yuè</i> 黄金岁月), ‘the old age’ ( <i>lǎo nián qī</i> 老年期)
iii. The strength and physical appearance of the <b>economy</b>	‘not wealthy’ ( <i>bù fù yù</i> 不富裕), ‘destiny’ ( <i>mìng yùn</i> 命运), ‘keep one’s body in good condition alone’ ( <i>dú shàn qí shēn</i> 独善其身), ‘strong’ ( <i>qiáng jìn</i> 强劲), ‘weak’ ( <i>ruò xiàng</i> 弱项), ‘life’ ( <i>shēng mìng</i> 生命), ‘energetic’ ( <i>huó lì</i> 活力)
iv. The motions done by or to the <b>economy</b>	‘in step’ ( <i>tóng bù</i> 同步), ‘step’ ( <i>bù fá</i> 步伐), ‘walk their own ways’ ( <i>gě xíng gě lù</i> 各行各路), ‘from ... walk to ...’ ( <i>yóu...zǒu xiàng...</i> 由 ... 走向 ...), ‘stride’ ( <i>mài xiàng</i> 迈向), ‘come out of’ ( <i>zǒu chū</i> 走出), ‘enter’ ( <i>jìn rù</i> 进入), ‘walk into’ ( <i>bù rù</i> 步入), ‘shrug off’ ( <i>bǎi tuō</i> 摆脱), ‘lift one leg and resulted in an imbalanced weight’ ( <i>jǔ zú qīng zhòng</i> 举足轻重=play an important role), ‘stand up’ ( <i>zhàn qǐ lái</i> 站起来),

	‘chase’ ( <i>zhuī shàng</i> 追上), ‘win the race’ ( <i>páo yíng</i> 跑赢), ‘left behind’ ( <i>luò hòu</i> 落后), ‘unifying into the same body’ ( <i>Yì Tǐ Huà</i> 一体化)
v. The mental state of the <b>economy</b>	‘depressed and lost’ ( <i>dī mí</i> 低迷) ‘depend’ ( <i>yī lài</i> 依赖), ‘depend’ ( <i>yī zhòng</i> 倚重), ‘free and open’ ( <i>zì yóu kāi fàng</i> 自由开放), ‘challenge’ ( <i>tiǎo zhàn</i> 挑战), ‘adapt’ ( <i>shì yīng</i> 适应), ‘eating the energy but not being accepted’ ( <i>chī lì bù tǎo hǎo</i> 吃力不讨好= work very hard but in vain), ‘in danger’ ( <i>wēi wēi hū</i> 危危乎), ‘face’ ( <i>miàn duì</i> 面对), ‘attack’ ( <i>dǎ jī</i> 打击) ‘looking ahead’ 前瞻/展望( <i>qián zhān /zhǎn wàng</i> )
vi. The health of the <b>economy</b>	‘diagnose by feeling the pulse’ ( <i>bǎ mài</i> 把脉), ‘healthy’ ( <i>jiàn kāng</i> 健康), ‘internal injury’ ( <i>nèi shāng</i> 内伤), ‘an injection to strengthen the heart’ 打一口强心针 ( <i>dá yī kǒu qiáng xīn zhēn</i> ), ‘exhausted’ ( <i>pí ruò</i> 疲弱)
vii. The relationship of the <b>economy</b> with other entities	‘relationship’ ( <i>guān xì</i> 关系)

Similar to the Guardian pilot corpus, these seven types of collocations also help realize the sub-metaphors THE ECONOMY IS GROWING, ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS ARE STAGES IN A LIFE CYCLE, THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS THE PHYSICAL STRENGTH OF A LIVING ORGANISM, THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS THE MENTAL STATE OF A LIVING ORGANISM, THE PROBLEMATIC AND WEAK ECONOMY IS A PATIENT and ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IS FAMILY RELATIONSHIP. Despite these similarities, more body parts were observed in the UKGC\_dec/06, such as the legs, the muscles, the heart, the hands, the mouth and the neck. The body parts employed in the HKEJC\_dec/06 are mainly the legs and the whole body although other body parts such as the hands, the mouth and the eyes can be observed (please refer to Types



III and IV collocations in Table 4.6 above). Moreover, it can be observed that the whole body is utilized as a body part in the HKEJC\_dec/06, as in ‘unifying into the same body’ (*yi ti hua*, 一体化). This collocation helps reflect the importance of relationship building in the HKEJC\_dec/06. The collocation in the last type of collocation (‘relationship’) also indicates that the theme ‘relationship’ is relatively salient in the Hong Kong pilot corpus. Although both pilot corpora conceptualize economic relationship in terms of family relationship, the collocations realizing the same metaphor are different between these two corpora. Other subtle differences can also be observed in the metaphorical extension of the motions related to ‘seeing’ and the culture-specific ways of diagnosing and healing the illnesses of the **economy**. These similarities and differences in the metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM are explained below.

#### i. THE ECONOMY IS GROWING AND ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS ARE STAGES IN A LIFE CYCLE

Collocations realizing the conceptual metaphors THE ECONOMY IS GROWING and ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS ARE STAGES IN A LIFE CYCLE include ‘growth’ (*zēng zhǎng*, 增长), ‘develop’ (*fā zhǎn* 发展), ‘revive’ (*fù sū* 复苏), ‘prosperity’ (*fán róng* 繁荣), ‘cycle’ (*zhōu qī* 周期), ‘wither and shrink’ (*wěi suō* 萎缩), ‘fruit’ (*chéng guǒ* 成果), ‘flag’ (*bù zhèn* 不振), ‘prosperous’ (*wàng shèng* 旺盛, *chàng wàng* 畅旺 or *xīng wàng*

兴旺). Many of these collocations are similar to those in the UKGC and they also help conceptualize the fluctuations of the **economy** in the four stages of an economic cycle (see some examples below).

Table 4.7 Examples metaphorizing economic fluctuations as stages in a life cycle in HKEJC\_dec/06

Examples taken from HKEJC_dec/06	Stages in an economic cycle
<p>THE ECONOMY IS GROWING</p> <p>11 The <b>economy</b> <u>continues to grow</u> rapidly ... (...经济 持续 快速 增长 ...)</p> <p>54 The Chinese <b>economy</b> grows <u>strongly</u> ... (...中国经济 强劲 增长...)</p>	'boom'
<p>ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS ARE STAGES IN A LIFE CYCLE</p> <p>402 ... knows that it is the influence of the <b>economic cycle</b> ... (... 知道 这是 经济循环 的 影响...)</p> <p>48... the Chinese <b>economy</b> <u>has completely revived</u> since year 1998... (中国经济 由 1998 年起 全面 复苏...)</p> <p>73... the index reflects that the <b>Chinese economy</b> is still <u>prosperous</u> ... (...数据 反映 中国经济 仍然 蓬勃 ...)</p> <p>502 ... He repeatedly emphasized the recent <b>economic fruits</b> of Hong Kong ... (... 他不断 强调 香港 近几季 的 经济 成果...)</p> <p>375... following the <u>withering and shrinking</u> of the <b>Japanese economy</b> ... (... 随着 日本经济 萎缩...)</p>	<p>'recovery'</p> <p>'boom'</p> <p>'depression' or 'recession'</p>

On the other hand, collocations that frequently refer to the life cycle of human beings can be observed in the HKEJC\_dec/06. For instance, in line 697 below, when the **Hong Kong economy** is delineated as in a 'golden age', it means that the **economy** is in its strongest stage. In line 378, the deterioration of the **Japanese economy** is described as entering 'old age', which means that the **Japanese economy** is in a problematic stage.

697 ... The Hong Kong **economy** has entered a golden age ...

(... 香港经济 已 进入 黄金岁月...)

378 ... the Japanese **economy** has entered old age ...

(... 日本经济 已 步入 老年期...)

## ii. THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS THE PHYSICAL STRENGTH OF A LIVING ORGANISM

In the HKEJC\_dec/06 the states of the **economy** are also mapped as the physical strengths of a living organism and that THE GOOD STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS A STRONG LIVING ORGANISM and THE BAD STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS A WEAK LIVING ORGANISM.

55 ... because the above topics are always the weaknesses of the Chinese **economy** ...

(...因 上述 一直系 中国经济 弱项...)

58 ... the Chinese **economy** is so strong ...

(... 中国经济 如此 强劲...)

As noted earlier, the theme related to ‘relationship’ appears to be more salient in HKEJC\_dec/06 via the collocations ‘unifying into the same body’ (*yi ti hua*, ‘一体化’) and ‘relationship’ (*guan xi* 关系). According to Chinese culture, the ‘body’ represents the ‘self’. In other words, the use of the collocation ‘unifying into the same body’ (*yi ti hua*, 一体化) is metonymic in the way that the merging of the two ‘bodies’ between the **economy** and other entities reflects a close relationship. Indeed, this collocation is the Chinese translation of the economic term, ‘economic

integration'. However, the English term shows a mechanistic conceptualization

whereas the Chinese term is derived from an organic metaphor. For instance

140 ...the **global economies** have unified into the same body...

(... 全球经济 一体化...)

141 ... the unification of the **global economies** into the same body has forced the enterprises to continue to reform and improve ...

(... 全球经济 一体化 逼使 企业 不断 革新 改进...)

142. Under the premises that the **global economies** have unified into the same body and the Chinese economy has soared into the sky ...

(... 在 全球经济 一体化 及 中国 经济 腾飞 的 前提 下...)

140 ... the **global economies** have unified into the same body...

(... 全球经济 一体化...)

141 ... the unification of the **global economies** into the same body has forced the enterprises continues to reform and improve ...

(... 全球经济 一体化 逼使 企业 不断 革新 改进...)

142. Under the premises that the **global economies** have unified into the same body and the Chinese economy has soared into the sky ...

(... 在 全球经济 一体化 及 中国 经济 腾飞 的 前提 下...)

Apart from the collocation 'unifying into the same body' (*yi ti hua*, 一体化), the

collocation 'relationship' (*guan xi* 关系) also reflects that relationship building is

important and economic co-operation resembles human friendship. For example,

540 ... the relationship among the **economies** of the three places, Mainland, Taiwan and Hong Kong becomes more and more intimate ...

(... 两岸三地 的 经济 关系 愈趋密切...)

541 ... the relationship between **Taiwanese and Chinese economies** are getting closer...

(... 台湾 与 中国 大陆 的 经济 关系 亦 渐趋 紧密...)

iii. THE STATES OF THE ECONOMY ARE THE MENTAL STATES OF A LIVING ORGANISM

Similar to the UKGC\_dec/06, the mapping of the states of the economy as the emotional and mental states of living organisms can be observed in HKEJC\_dec/06.

For instance the needs of support from the external entities are also mapped as the physical needs of living organisms. Among all the collocations concerning the mental states of the economy, metaphorical extensions of motions related to ‘seeing’ in the Chinese language appear to differ from those in the English language. In addition to the general mapping of motions related to ‘seeing’ onto the mental level (as in ‘face’, *miàn duì* 面对), this kind of motions was metaphorically extended to indicate expectation and prediction, such as ‘look higher’ (*kān gāo yī xiàn* 看高一线, line 453 below) and ‘look ahead’ (*qián zhān* 前瞻, line 692 or *zhǎn wàng* 展望, line 392 below). These collocations help realize the conceptual metaphors EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION ARE SEEING, in addition to the primary metaphor KNOWING/UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING. For example,

453 ... in the coming year, the **economy** should therefore look higher (expect higher) ...  
(... 来年 经济 因而 亦应 看高一线 ...)

392 ... next year, looking at the **economy** ahead (the economic outlook) ...  
(... 明年 经济 展望...)

692 ... this was the deepest contradiction while we were looking at the Hong Kong **economic terrain ahead**)  
(... 这个 就是 我们 前瞻 **香港经济形势** 最深层次 的 矛盾 ...)

In line 453, the **economy** is described as ‘should look higher’. As UP IS GOOD, the phrase ‘should look higher’ means ‘should expect better or more’. In the last two examples, the **economy** is described as the scenery and the journalists are described as looking at the front part of the **economy**. As noted by some previous research (Boroditsky 2001), time is often conceptualized horizontally and the future is in front of us among the Chinese and English. In other words, ‘looking to the front or ahead’ implies a prediction for the future. Moreover, it is a conventional way among Chinese people to talk about predictions in terms of scenery. The fact that scenery is often associated with prediction is discussed in a later sub-section concerning container metaphors.

#### iv. THE PROBLEMATIC AND WEAK ECONOMY IS A PATIENT

The conceptual metaphor A WEAK ECONOMY IS A PATIENT is also identified in the Hong Kong pilot corpus. Nevertheless, some of the illnesses and the healing methods appear to be culture-specific. For example, ‘an internal injury’ (*nèi shāng* 内伤) and ‘diagnosing the patients by feeling their pulse’ (*bǎ mài*, 把脉) are two common terms in traditional Chinese medical science. In traditional Chinese medical science, ‘an internal injury’ (*nèi shāng* 内伤, line 176) usually refers to the invisible internal injuries of organs caused by severe physical attack or crash. If no

treatments are given, malfunctions of the wounded organs may appear after a long period of time such as a few months or years later. In line 690, ‘diagnosing the patients by feeling their pulse’ (*bǎ mài*,把脉) is a method that traditional Chinese medicine doctors employ to diagnose a patient by feeling the different rhythms of their pulse, in addition to measuring their heart beat rate by taking the pulse.

176 ... but it also caused the downturn of the stock market and the internal injuries of the **economy** and financial system ...  
(...但亦 引致 股市 下挫 ， 因而 出现 **经济** 金融 内伤...)

690 ... therefore when we diagnose the Hong Kong **economy** by feeling its pulse, we are not looking at the situation of these one or two years ...  
(...因此 我们 为 **香港经济** 把脉 ， 不是 看 一、两年 的 现象...)

#### b.THE ECONOMY IS AN OBJECT

The HKEJC\_dec/06 also shows a very similar conceptualization of the **economy** as an object when compared to the UKGC\_dec/06. In the Hong Kong pilot corpus the **economy** is also conceptualized as an entity which can be divided.

488 ...**The Beijing economy** only accounts for 3% of the GDP in China ...  
(... **北京的经济** 只占 中国本地 生产总值 的 百分之三 ...)

143 ... when China emerged and became an important constituent part of the **world economy** ...  
(... 当 中国 崛起 成为 **全球化经济** 一个重要 组成部分 时...)

Similar to the collocations realizing the **economy** as an object are also related to the size, shape and elasticity of an object.

542 ... the volume of Hong Kong's **economy** is small ...

(... 香港的经济 体积小...)

145... at the same time, it can share the global business network of the Caryl Group in order to expand the scale of its **economy** ...

(... 同时 还可 分享 凯雷集团 全球 业务 网络 , 扩大 其 经济规模...)

241 ... the **economy** will not expand or contract ...

(... 经济 唔再 扩张 但亦 唔系 收缩...)

Likewise, when the **economy** is conceptualized as an object, it is often the affected agent in economic processes. For example,

345 ... it will distort the **economy** and encourage the 'wind' (heat) of speculation ...

(... 必会 扭曲 经济 及 助长 投机之风...)

92 ... the appreciation of RMB will not cause damage to the **Asian economy** ...

(... 人民币 升值 不会 对 亚洲区 经济 造成 损害性 影响...)

In addition to the above similarities, collocations concerning the structure and the changes in the quality of the **economy** can be observed in the Hong Kong pilot corpus.

For instance

679 ... the structure of the **Hong Kong economy** has changed ...

(... 因为 香港 经济 结构 已 改变...)

100 ... as a result, the structure of the **economy** became more distorted ...

(... 结果 令 经济 结构 更加 扭曲...)

8 ... after the **economy** turns good ...

(... 随着 经济 好转...)

605 ... (it is) believed that the **economy** would not turn bad suddenly ...

(... 相信 美国 经济 不会 突然 转坏...)



## C. ECONOMIC PROCESSES ARE MECHANICAL PROCESSES

Similar to the UKGC, the **economy** is also conceptualized as a machine or a vehicle in the HKEJC\_dec/06 (Please see Table 4.8 below for the collocations conceptualizing the economic processes as mechanical processes). As shown in Table 4.8, economic processes are also mapped as the operations of a machine and the problems of the **economy** are described as resulting from collisions.

Table 4.8 Collocations realizing economic processes as mechanical processes in the HKEJC\_dec/06

Types of collocations in the source domain MECHANICAL PROCESSES	Collocations
i. About the operation of the <b>economy</b> as a machine	‘generate’ ( <i>dài dòng</i> 带动), ‘motivate’ ( <i>tuī dòng</i> 推动), ‘integrate’ ( <i>róng hé</i> 融合), ‘shock’ ( <i>zhèn dòng</i> 震动), ‘pressurized’ ( <i>shòu yā</i> 受压), ‘adjust’ ( <i>tiáo jié</i> 调节), ‘momentum’ ( <i>shì tóu</i> 势头), ‘transition’ ( <i>zhuǎi xíng</i> 转型), ‘new kinetic energy’ ( <i>xīn dòng néng</i> 新动能), ‘great attractive force’ ( <i>yīn lì dà</i> 引力大)
ii. About the stability or balance of the <b>economy</b>	‘back to stable’ ( <i>huí wěn</i> 回稳), ‘balance’ ( <i>píng héng</i> 平衡), ‘imbalance’ ( <i>bù píng héng</i> 不平衡)
iii. The <b>economy</b> as a vehicle	‘back on the right track’ ( <i>fǎn huí zhèng guǐ</i> 返回正轨),
iv. Problems of the <b>economy</b> as collision	‘impact’ ( <i>chōng jī</i> 冲击)
v. Changes of economic styles	‘transition’ ( <i>zhuǎn xíng</i> 转型)

Moreover in the Hong Kong pilot corpus, frequencies of the collocations related to the stability of the **economy** and the changes of economic styles are relatively higher.

139 ... The world economy is running towards the real globalization, finally the **world economy** will definitely become more balanced ...

(... 全球经济 朝一个 真正 全球化 的 经济走 , 最后 **全球经济** 一定 变得 较平衡...)

337... mainly afraid of the influence of financial fluctuation on **economic stability**...

(... 主要是 恐怕 金融 的 波动 可 影响 **经济 稳定** ...)

429 ... in the following year, the **Hong Kong economy** will maintain its **stability**...

(... 明年 **本港经济** 将 维持 稳定...)

157 ... but it is helpful for the **Mainland economy** to **transit** from the export-led to the consumer-led model ...

(... 而是 有助 **内地 经济** 由 出口型 **转为** 消费型...)

#### d.THE ECONOMY IS A CONTAINER

In the Hong Kong pilot corpus, it can be observed that the **economy** is much less frequently conceptualized as a container via the preposition ‘in’ or ‘into’. Moreover, the **economy** is described as a specific kind of container, the scenery, as in ‘environment’ (*huán jìng* 环境), ‘terrain’ (*xíng shì* 形势) and ‘the scenery ahead’ (*qián jǐng* 前景). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003), the scenery can be a specific example of containers because we see it as having boundaries in our eyes. Therefore, concordance lines realizing the **economy** as the scenery were grouped under the source domain, CONTAINERS. These collocations help conceptualize the situations of the **economy**.

412... this year, the **local economic terrain** is very good ...

(... 今年 **本地经济 形势** 大好 ...)

95 ... although this year the **economic environment** is good ...

(... 虽然 今年 **经济 环境** 良好...)

Moreover as mentioned earlier, when the collocations related to scenery are utilized, they usually help to describe the economic predictions in the Hong Kong pilot corpus.

For instance,

409 ... following the positive opinion of the citizens on the **economic** scenery ahead...

(... 随着 市民 看好 未来 **经济** 前景 ...)

602 ... due to the unclear scenery of the USA economy ahead ...

(... 由于 美国 经济 前景 不明朗 ...)

#### 4.6 A summary of the analysis of the top four source domains in the two pilot corpora

It can be observed that the sub-metaphors which are similar in the two pilot corpora are metaphors sharing similar embodied experience, as in THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS THE PHYSICAL STRENGTH OF A LIVING ORGANISM, THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS THE MENTAL STATE OF A LIVING ORGANISM, THE PROBLEMATIC AND WEAK ECONOMY IS A PATIENT, THE STRONG ECONOMY IS AN EXPANDING OBJECT, THE WEAK ECONOMY IS A DIMINISHING OBJECT and THE ECONOMY IS A MACHINE.

In these metaphors, the same embodied experience was selected to describe the **economy**. For example, the good state of the **economy** is described as a strong living organism; the bad state of the **economy** is described as a weak or sick living organism.

However, differences can be observed mainly in two ways; i) the linguistic expressions realizing the same conceptual metaphors; and ii) different metaphors.

i. Different linguistic expressions realizing the same conceptual metaphors

It can be observed that more types of body parts can be observed in the UKGC\_dec/06. Among all the body parts which help realize the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM, the body part ‘muscle’ appears to be culture-specific in the UKGC\_dec/06 whereas stages in the human life cycle are employed to describe the states of the **economy** in the HKEJC\_dec/06. Moreover collocations realizing economic relationships differ in the two pilot corpora (as in ‘economic ties’, ‘divorced from’ and ‘unifying into the same body’, yi ti hua 一体化). Indeed, these collocations reveal different kinds of values and attitudes towards relationship building in these two cultures. Further discussion on this theme will be provided in Chapters Six and Seven. Although the conceptual metaphor A WEAK ECONOMY IS A PATIENT is manifested in both pilot corpora, culture-specific collocations in relation to illnesses and healing methods can be observed in the HKEJC\_dec/06. These special collocations reveal the influence of folk theory (Taoism) on Chinese people.

Moreover the choice of collocations in the two corpora reveals that different aspects of the economy are focused upon. For instance, in the object metaphor, the transition of the economic styles as the changing of models appears to be more salient in the HKEJC\_dec/06. In the container metaphor, only very general information of the container is provided in the UKGC\_dec/06 but more details about the types of activities occurring in the **economy** are provided. On the other hand, the scenery is often employed as a special container in the HKEJC\_dec/06. The container metaphors in these two corpora also differ in their syntactic structures. In the UKGC\_dec/06, the **economy** tends to be conceptualized as a container via the use of the prepositions ‘in’ or ‘into’. However, the use of these prepositions to encode the **economy** as a container is not common in the HKEJC\_dec/06. Instead the **economy** is directly conceptualized as a special container through giving more details of the container, as in ‘environment’, ‘terrain’ and ‘landscape’. Moreover the focus of the container metaphor in the HKEJC\_dec/06 appears to be a prediction about the **economy**.

## ii. Different metaphors

As mentioned earlier, in the UKGC\_dec/06, when the **economy** is conceptualized as a container, the focus is on the kinds of activities occurring in the container. These

activities tend to be construed as mechanical or biological processes, realizing the conceptual metaphors the ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES ARE MECHANICAL/BIOLOGICAL PROCESSES OCCURRING IN OR AFFECTING THE ECONOMY AS A CONTAINER were observed. In the HKEJC\_dec/06, words related to ‘seeing’ are metaphorically extended as prediction and expectation, realizing the conceptual metaphor PREDICTION AND EXPECTATION ARE SEEING. Indeed, economic predication is also a popular theme in the UKGC\_dec/06. However, it appears that predictions of the **economy** are more common via the source domain WEATHER. For instance,

246 ... Brown's forecasts for the **UK economy** seemed strangely oblivious to what is happening ...

269 "With clouds gathering over the US economy, and squalls in the currency markets ...

In short, some of the linguistic expressions realizing the same metaphors in the two pilot corpora are culture-specific. Moreover, by employing different kinds of collocations in the same metaphors, different focuses of the **economy** were revealed. The different metaphors also reveal different conceptions of the two cultures (as in PREDICTION IS SEEING). As Cameron (2009) points out, a study of metaphor is a good way to explore the values and attitudes of the people speaking the metaphor. Moreover, the emergence of the mixed metaphors observed in the two pilot corpora help indicate that meaning construction processes are dynamic.

#### 4.7 Methodologies of comparing the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM

It is observed that the super-ordinate metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM employed in the two corpora shows more comparable features. For example, both corpora conceptualize the progress of the **economy** in terms of journey metaphor. Economic relationship, another main aspect observed in both corpora, is conceptualized via body-parts metaphors related to hands, upper body and breathing organs (including mouth, nose and neck) in both corpora. As explained in the Pilot Study, interesting subtle differences can be observed in their linguistic expressions realizing the body-parts metaphors. Some of these differences appear to be cultural specific (See results of the Pilot Study). Therefore, further comparable study of the super-ordinate metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM employed in the two corpora was carried out in the whole corpora. The comparison of this metaphor was carried out in the following two parts:

1. The conceptualization of the **economy** as a travelling entity.
2. The conceptualization of the **economy** via other body parts such as the hands, the upper body, the whole body, the mouth and the breathing organs.

Following the suggestions given by Kovecses (2006), Deignan (1999) and Boers in exploring cultural variations in conceptual metaphor, attention is paid to investigate i) the main aspects of the **economy** conceptualized via different body part metaphors; ii)

similar conceptual metaphors manifested via the body part metaphors; iii) if there are any alternative metaphors manifested in either corpus in conceptualizing the **economy** via BODY PART metaphors; iv) if there are any different linguistic expressions realizing the same sub-metaphors; v) if there are any different metaphorical extensions of the same words; vi) if the frequency of the BODY PART metaphors help reveal the saliency of any special BODY PART metaphors in the two corpora; and finally vii) if the syntactic structures of the BODY PART metaphors (that is, mood system and the transitivity) reveal different conceptualizations of the **economy**.

After the differences and similarities manifested in the body part metaphors have been uncovered, I will also discuss to what extent these similarities and differences have resulted from our embodied experience or cultural differences.



## Chapter 5: The economy is a travelling entity – the conceptualization of the progress of the economy via the metaphors related to bodily movements

### Introduction

This chapter investigates how the **economy** is conceptualized as travelling on a journey in the two corpora (see Appendices F and G for the lists of concordance lines of the JOURNEY metaphor in both corpora). There are two main constituent elements in this JOURNEY metaphor. They are ‘the **economy** as a travelling entity’ and ‘the journey’. This chapter begins with a brief introduction explaining the image schemas that help compose the JOURNEY metaphor. These image schemas include PATH, BALANCE, UP-DOWN, IN-OUT (CONTAINER) and CYCLE. Following this, analysis of the conceptualization of the progress of the **economy** in the two corpora in terms of the above two constituent elements is provided. The final section in this chapter is a summary of the analysis and cultural implications of the differences in the JOURNEY metaphors in the two corpora.

## 5.1 The major image schemas involved in the JOURNEY metaphors

### 5.1.1 The PATH schema

As cognitive linguistics states, our embodied experience about physical journeys is organized in the form of PATH schema. As Johnson (1987:112) states, ‘in every case of paths, there are always a source (or a starting point), a goal (or an end point) and a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the source with the goal.’ In the two economic corpora, the progress of the **economy** is conceptualized as a physical journey. Presumably the end point or the goal of the metaphorical journey of the **economy** is to make achievements in terms of profits and social status. Moreover the physical locations on a path are metaphorized as the states of the **economy**.

### 5.1.2 The UP-DOWN schema

The UP-DOWN schema is derived from our embodied experience of seeing an increase or decrease in the level of an entity when its quantity increases or decreases. For example when we pour water into a container, the water level goes up; when we pour water out of the container, the water level goes down. The correlation of quantity with verticality has formed the basis of the primary metaphors, MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN. These two primary metaphors are extended to form the conceptual

metaphors UP IS GOOD and DOWN IS BAD. As the performance of the **economy** is often measured in terms of profits and aggregates, in the two corpora, collocations realizing these four primary metaphors are salient. In general, when the **economy** is described as going up, it metaphorizes the increase in profits and the high status of the **economy**. When the **economy** is described as going down, it means that its profits and status are lowering.

### 5.1.3 The BALANCE schema

According to Johnson (1987) the BALANCE schema is derived from our physical experience of balance since our infancy stage. Basically we prefer a balanced state. When we are little babies, we learn how to keep our body balanced in order to stand and walk. This embodied experience helps shape the primary metaphors that BALANCE IS GOOD and IMBALANCE IS BAD. Furthermore the experience of balance is often closely related to our experience of bodily equilibrium. When we feel too hot, too cold or when there is too much acid in our stomach, we consider ourselves as out of balance or bodily equilibrium.

#### 5.1.4 The IN-OUT (container) schema

In both corpora, the **economy** as a traveller is often described as entering or coming out of some bounded locations. As cognitive linguistics argues, we repeatedly experience constant physical containment in our surroundings, such as moving in and out of the rooms and putting things in and taking things out of bags. These experiences help form the basis of the IN-OUT/CONTAINER schemata and are extended to conceptualize the state of the **economy**. According to Johnson (1987:22), ‘containment limits and restricts forces within the container’. This may suggest why bounded regions tend to metaphorize the bad state of the **economy** (please refer to section 5.4.3 for detail).

#### 5.1.5 The CYCLE schema

As Johnson (1987) observes, we experience different kinds of cycles in relation to our bodily functions such as heartbeat, breathing and digestion. Most of us have experienced the cycle from illness to recovery and then back to the normal healthy state. Other cyclic processes we experience include the recurrence of day and night and from depression in winter to prosperity in spring. These embodied experiences of a periodic ‘rise’ and ‘fall’ form the basis of the CYCLE schema. In the UKGC and HKEJC, the CYCLE schema helps us understand event sequences and the periodic

performance cycle of the **economy**. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the stages of the performance cycle of an economy are mainly *depression*, *recovery*, *boom* and *recession*.

## 5.2 The travelling entity (the economy) in the UKGC

### 5.2.1 Conceptual metaphors manifested in the descriptions of the economy as a travelling entity

As shown in Table 5.1 (p.204), the collocations describing the **economy** as a travelling entity are mainly motion verbs which help conceptualize **economic processes** as motion events.

Table 5.1 Collocations realizing the **economy** as a traveller in the UKGC

Aspects of the <b>economy</b>	Collocations (types: 25, tokens: 61)
States and progresses	'slide', 'slump', 'plummet', 'slip', 'tumble', 'falter', 'plunge', 'stumble', 'lurch', 'enter', 'leap', 'come back', 'return', 'lag behind', 'come out of', 'run', 'go', 'pounding', 'galloping'
Damage done to the <b>economy</b>	'cripple', 'paralyzed', 'hamper', 'put the economy on its feet'
Attitudes of the economy	'stand aside', 'stand ready'
The actions of the economy	'take the environmental step', 'take the right step'

The main aspects of the **economy** conceptualized by these collocations include:

- i. the progress of the **economy**;
- ii. the damage done to the **economy**;
- iii. the attitudes of the **economy**;
- iv. the actions of the **economy**.

As shown in Table 5.1, many of these motion verbs focus on the manner of movements (manner verbs) of the **economy**. In general, these collocations help describe the **economy** as making vertical (as in ‘slip’ and ‘plunge’) and horizontal movements (as in ‘leap’ and ‘lag behind’), realizing the primary metaphors DOWN IS BAD, BALANCE IS GOOD, IMBALANCE IS BAD, FORWARD IS GOOD and BACKWARD IS BAD. Other conceptual metaphors realized by these collocations include STANDING AS AN ATTITUDE, ACTIONS ARE STEPS and PROBLEMS ARE ATTACKS AND PARALYSIS. These metaphors are discussed in turn below.

#### a. FORWARD IS GOOD

In physical journeys we move forward in order to reach the destinations. This embodied experience forms the basis of the primary metaphors FORWARD IS GOOD and BACKWARD IS BAD. Accordingly the **economy** making progress is conceptualized as a traveller travelling forward on a path. For example

245 While they were taking small incremental steps, the rest of the world, especially the Indian **economy**, took giant leaps. (UKGC\_Mar/06)

272 Investment group Jupiter is predicting that the Chinese **economy** will continue to leap forward at 8%-10% growth rates over the next few years. (UKGC\_Oct/06)

In the examples above, the huge progress made by the Indian **economy** and the Chinese **economy** are illustrated in the forward movement, ‘leap’. In both examples, ‘leap’ co-occurs with positive modifiers which helps reinforce the positive evaluation of the progress of the **economy**. In the first example, the forward movement, ‘leap’ co-occurs with the positive pre-modifier, ‘giant’. In the second example, the positive progress reflected in the motion ‘leap’ is illustrated in terms of quantity, ‘8%-10% growth rates’.

#### b. DOWN IS BAD

Moreover a great variety of manner verbs depicting the downward movements of the **economy** is observed, as in ‘free fall’, ‘plunge’, ‘plummet’, ‘slide’, ‘slump’, ‘tumble’, ‘slip’, ‘stumble’, ‘lurch’ and ‘faltering’. These manner verbs help depict the dropping status of the **economy**, realizing the primary metaphor DOWN IS BAD. Meanwhile, these verbs also entail a loss of balance, realizing the primary metaphor IMBALANCE IS BAD. For instance

273 ... most Filipinos are struggling to survive in an **economy** which has slumped. (UKGC\_Feb/06)

290 The British **economy** has slipped down the world league, in terms of competitiveness but remains in the top 10 for the second year running. (UKGC\_Nov/06)

241 Cuba may look forlorn, all peeling buildings and pockmarked roads. Its **economy** may have long since tumbled into creaking anarchy. (UKGC\_Aug/06)

Deignan (1995) points out that these verbs are frequently employed to explain difficulties in business, financial matters and situations of an economy. Moreover the degree of weakness and inability manifested in these verbs helps to illustrate the varied levels of inability of the **economy**. For instance ‘slide’ is often used metaphorically to describe a situation that turns worse gradually. As in line 34 below, the gradual worsening situation of the **US economy** is depicted as ‘begins to slide’.

34 If the US **economy** begins to slide, causing job losses, some fear America could turn in on itself, replicating the protectionist backlash after the 1929 stock market crash ... (UKGC\_Mar/06)

When the **economy** is described as ‘plunging’, it usually refers to a quick fall of levels or amounts. For instance

221 The collapse of the Soviet Union and its subsidies plunged the Caribbean island's **economy** into freefall in the early 1990s. (UKGC\_Oct/06)

102 ... hospitals running dangerously short of medicines and the **economy** plunging into recession. (UKGC\_May/06)

The verbs ‘slump’, ‘tumble’ and ‘slip’ help depict the sudden drop of the status of the **economy**. For instance

273... most Filipinos are struggling to survive in an **economy** which has slumped . (UKGC\_Feb/06)

290 The British **economy** has slipped down the world league, in terms of competitiveness but remains in the top 10 for the second year running. (UKGC\_Nov/06)



241 Cuba may look forlorn, all peeling buildings and pockmarked roads. Its **economy** may have long since tumbled into creaking anarchy. (UKGC\_Aug/06)

In lines 290 and 241 above, the co-texts indicate clearly that it is the status of the **economy** that is falling (as in ‘the world league’, line 290 and ‘anarchy’, line 241).

The situation depicted in the other four expressions, ‘stumble’, ‘lurch’, ‘faltering’ and ‘limp along’ are less critical. All these four expressions indicate that a person can still struggle for some movements even when in difficulties. As stated in the *Collins CoBuild Dictionary* (2003), ‘stumble’ emphasizes the awkwardness of putting one’s foot down while walking. ‘Lurch’ indicates a sudden, unintentional and jerky movement that is usually forward. ‘Faltering’ refers to an uncertain, weak movement. ‘If someone limps, they walk in a slow and awkward way because they have hurt or injured one or both of their legs (Deignan 1995:32). In short, these four expressions help describe that the **economy** in difficulties can still make some progress. For instance

157 But infighting and a stumbling **economy** quickly led to disenchantment and a split. (UKGC\_Mar/06)

329 ... but they failed to deliver a sturdy enough framework to ensure stability, and as a result presided over an **economy** that lurched from bust to boom to bust again. (UKGC\_Feb/06)

103 ... might in fact be struggling strains credibility and will hardly prompt sympathy from those sectors of the **economy** limping along at much more meagre growth rates. (UKGC\_Apr/06)

Moreover these verbs which in themselves carry negative evaluations often co-occur with negative causes or consequences in relation to the fall of the **economy**. Their

co-occurrence reinforces the negative evaluations of the **economy** (See Table 5.2 for more examples).

Table 5.2 The co-occurrence of the movements of the **economy** with negative events in UKGC

Concordance lines	Manner of movements	Negative causes or effects
34 If the US <b>economy</b> <u>begins to slide</u> , causing job losses, some fear America could turn in on itself, replicating the protectionist backlash after the 1929 stock market crash... (UKGC_Mar 06)	‘begin to slide’	Effect: ‘causing job losses’
273 ... most Filipinos are struggling to survive in an <b>economy</b> <u>which has slumped</u> . (UKGC_Feb 06)	‘slump’	Effect: ‘Filipinos are struggling to survive’
80. Then once the intifada started, the <b>economy</b> <u>slumped</u> . (UKGC_Nov/06)	‘slump’	Cause: ‘once the intifada started’
157 But infighting and a <u>stumbling</u> <b>economy</b> quickly led to disenchantment and a split. UKGC_Mar/06)	‘stumbling’	Effect: ‘led to disenchantment’
329 ... but they failed to deliver a sturdy enough framework to ensure stability, and as a result presided over an <b>economy</b> that <u>lurched from bust to boom to bust</u> again. (UKGC_Feb/06)	‘lurched from bust to boom to bust’	Cause: ‘failed to deliver a sturdy enough framework to ensure stability’
134. Because if the <b>economy</b> <u>goes down the chute</u> , there’s not an awful lot left, is there? (UKGC_Jun/06)	‘goes down’	Effect: ‘there’s not an awful lot left’

### c. PROBLEMS ARE ATTACKS AND PARALYSIS

In the UKGC, difficulties or threats stopping the progress of the **economy** are described as fighting scenes. As shown in the examples below, the verb phrase ‘to bring to its knees’ evokes mental imageries of a living organism being defeated and fallen in a fight. In other words, the affected **economies** (the US **economy** and

Canadian **economy**) are metaphorized as living organisms being defeated in a fight. In these metaphorical fights, ‘the incapability to eradicate the problem’ and ‘the absence of any Morrissey concerts’ are metaphorized as two external ‘enemies’ that have defeated the US and Canadian **economies**. Consequently the two **economies** have malfunctioned. Similar to other verbs describing downward movements, the phrase ‘to bring to his knees’ also entails the imbalance of the **economy**, realizing the primary metaphor IMBALANCE IS BAD. For instance

26 He did not eradicate the problems that threatened to bring the US **economy** to its knees in 2001.  
(UKGC\_Mar/06)  
305 ... the absence of any Morrissey concerts is unlikely to bring the Canadian **economy** to its knees ...  
(UKGC\_Mar/06)

Since the absence of balance metaphorizes a problematic **economy**, helping the traveller to restore his balance and continue the journey corresponds to helping improve the **economy**. For instance

196. She intends to use her experience to negotiate finance deals that can put the Liberian **economy** back on its feet.  
(UKGC\_Jan/06)

In line 196 the recovery of the damaged Liberian **economy** is metaphorized as ‘put back on its feet’. It is a gesture showing the restoration of bodily balance so that the **economy** can resume the journey.

Furthermore more serious damage done to the **economy** is conceptualized as having ‘crippled’ or ‘paralysed’ the **economy**. For instance

193 “It has paralysed the local **economy**.” He said about 8,000 people participated in a protest at the Shenzhen municipal government building, before police broke it up and arrested some of those involved. (UKGC\_Jan/06)

181 But final agreement on the paper, designed to end international sanctions against the Hamas government that have crippled the Palestinian **economy**, has been slowed by wrangling over a national unity administration and the question who speaks for the Palestinians. (UKGC\_Jun/06)

270. “The cost of so much failure must be crippling to the French **economy**,” says Keiger. “No system can support such wastage indefinitely ...” (UKGC\_Jun/06)

In the examples above external events such as ‘the protest’, ‘international sanctions’ and ‘the failure’ are metaphorized as ‘enemies’ who had seriously attacked the local, Palestinian and French **economies** respectively. The words ‘crippled’ and ‘paralyzed’ imply that the injuries are most likely irrecoverable. Similar to a seriously disabled person who cannot walk, it can be imagined that the three ‘crippled’ and ‘paralyzed’ **economies** have suffered big financial losses which are difficult for these **economies** to recover.

#### d. ECONOMIC ACTIONS ARE STEPS

It is observed that the actions or strategies the **economy** employed in order to achieve its goal are mapped as steps taken by a traveller in a physical journey. Indeed the metaphorization of actions in terms of ‘steps’ can be considered a dead metaphor in the English language. As Deignan (1995:194) points out, ‘this idea of moving in a particular direction (*‘take a step’*) is used metaphorically to talk about an action which

will help someone to achieve a particular goal, especially when that action is one of a number of actions that they will have to take.’ For instance

9 Sweden is to take the biggest environmental step of any advanced western **economy** by trying to completely wean itself off oil within 15 years. (UKGC\_Feb/06)

277 And having Turkey in the EU will not only ensure that a big emerging **economy** is taking the right steps to tackle climate change ... (UKGC\_Jun/06)

In both examples above, the goals of both **economies** are to conserve the environment and to tackle climate change. In line 9, the action taken by Sweden to achieve the goal is described as ‘the environmental *step* of any advanced western **economy**’ and the action taken by the **big emerging economy** (Turkey) is described as ‘taking the *right step*’ (please refer to line 277). As these two phrases indicate, the word ‘step’ is modified by the adjectives, ‘environmental’ and ‘big’. These two adjectives give more information or evaluation of the actions (or steps) taken by the two economies.

#### e. ATTITUDE IS STANDING

In some concordance lines, the **economy** as a traveller is described as ‘standing’. This physical gesture (‘standing’) is metaphorically extended to reflect the mental state of the **economy**, that is, the attitudes of the **economy** in response to different situations. For instance

32 "It is hard to conceive that the UK, one of the world's leading **economies**, would stand aside from such a global scientific and technological endeavour. (UKGC\_Oct/06)

6 ... and ensuring individuals and the wider **economy** stand ready to face the challenges of globalization.  
(UKGC\_Nov/06)

In line 32, ‘stand aside’ is a common physical gesture showing disagreement or disinterest in an idea or an issue. It is said in the example that ‘it is hard to conceive that the **UK economy** would not stand aside from such a global scientific and technological endeavour.’ It means that the **UK economy** is interested in the global scientific and technological areas and will join other economies. In other words the **UK economy** will ‘stand with’ other economies instead of ‘standing aside’.

In another example (line 6 above), globalization is metaphorized as a fight and the **economy** ‘stands ready’ for this fight. In general the phrase ‘stand ready’ indicates that the person is psychologically or mentally prepared for certain actions, such as ‘preparing for a run’ or ‘engaging in a contest’. Therefore the phrase ‘stand ready’ indicates that the **wider economy** has prepared well to face the consequences caused by globalization.

### 5.2.2 The syntactic structures of bodily movement metaphors in the UKGC

As mentioned earlier, manner verbs describing the bodily movements of the **economy** are salient in the UKGC. In addition to help delineate the **economy** as travelling on a journey, many of these manner verbs also help evoke mental imageries of fighting

(17 out of 64 lines). For example ‘paralysed’, ‘crippled’, ‘bring to its knees’ and ‘plunged’. The syntactic structures of these concordance lines indicate that the two agents in the sentence, that is the **economy** and other participants, are mentioned in these fighting imageries (see Table 5.3 below for details). This kind of description helps conceptualize the **economy** in an expressive way.

Table 5.3 The two participants in the fighting descriptions in the JOURNEY metaphors in the UKGC

Concordance line from UKGC	The other participant	The economy
193 “It <u>has paralyzed</u> the local <b>economy</b> .” He said about 8,000 people participated in <u>a protest</u> at the Shenzhen municipal government building ... (UKGC_Jan/06)	‘a protest at the Shenzhen municipal government building’	the local <b>economy</b>
26 He did not eradicate the problems that threatened <u>to bring the US <b>economy</b> to its knees</u> ... (UKGC_Mar/06)	‘the problems that threatened the US <b>economy</b> ’	the US <b>economy</b>
305... the absence of any Morrissey concerts is unlikely <u>to bring the Canadian <b>economy</b> to its knees</u> ... (UKGC_Mar/06)	‘the absence of any Morrissey concerts’	the Canadian <b>economy</b>
113 He does not want to go down as the man who followed the "maestro" Greenspan and <u>plunged the <b>economy</b> into a recession</u> ... (UKGC_Mar/06)	‘He’	the <b>economy</b>
102 ... hospitals running dangerously short of medicines and the <b>economy</b> <u>plunging into recession</u> ... (UKGC_May/06)	‘hospitals running dangerously short of medicines’	the <b>economy</b>
233 Its success in maintaining parity with the US during the cold war arms race ultimately <u>crippled</u> its <b>economy</b> ... (UKGC_May/06)	‘Its success in maintaining parity with the US during the cold war arms race’	its <b>economy</b>
89 They also recommend discreetly hoarding small change <u>to paralyze</u> the <b>economy</b> . (UKGC_Jun/06)	‘discreetly hoarding small change’	the <b>economy</b>
181 ... designed to end international sanctions against the Hamas government that <u>have crippled</u> the Palestinian <b>economy</b> ... (UKGC_Jun/06)	‘to end international sanctions against the Hamas government’	the Palestinian <b>economy</b>
270. "The cost of so much failure <u>must be crippling</u> to the <b>French economy</b> ," (UKGC_Jun/06)	‘the cost of so much failure’	the <b>French economy</b>
10 ... the <b>economies</b> <u>crippled</u> by the cotton industry. (UKGC_Sept/06)	‘the cotton industry’	the <b>economies</b>
18. ... to get through without catastrophe or resource shortages that <u>cripple</u> our <b>economies</b> or lead to	‘catastrophe or resource shortages’	our <b>economies</b>

immense social upheavals and strife. (UKGC_Sept/06)		
44 Israel says it has closed border crossings for security reasons, but the closures <u>were crippling</u> their <b>economy</b> . (UKGC_Sept/06)	‘the closures’	Israel’s <b>economy</b>
165 Ms Rice promised to ask the Israelis to relax the closure of crossing points, which <u>has hampered</u> the Palestinian <b>economy</b> . (UKGC_Oct/06)	‘the closure of crossing points’	the Palestinian <b>economy</b>
221 The collapse of the Soviet Union and its subsidies <u>plunged</u> the Caribbean island’s <b>economy</b> <u>into freefall</u> in the early 1990s. (UKGC_Oct/06)	‘The collapse of the Soviet Union and its subsidies’	the Caribbean island’s <b>economy</b>
6 ... and ensuring individuals and the wider <b>economy</b> <u>stand ready to face the challenges</u> of globalization. (UKGC_Nov/06)	the wider <b>economy</b>	globalization

### 5.3 The travelling entity (the economy) in the HKEJC

Similar to the UKGC, collocations describing the movements of the **economy** are also mainly motion verbs (please refer to Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Collocations realizing the **economy** as a traveller entity in the HKEJC

Aspects of the <b>economy</b>	Collocations (types: 26, token: 263)
The progress of the economy	<i>jìn rù</i> (进入, enter), <i>xiàn rù</i> (陷入, slump), <i>bù rù / zǒu rù</i> (步入/走入, walk/go into), <i>zǒu wú chū</i> (走唔出, cannot go out of), <i>bù chū / zǒu chū</i> (步出/走出, walk out of/ go out of), <i>dà bù xiàng qián</i> (大步向前 stride forward) <i>hé qù hé cóng</i> (何去何从, where to go), <i>xiàng qián zǒu</i> (向前走, go ahead ), <i>tā rù</i> (踏入, step into), <i>zǒu shàng</i> (走上, run on the) <i>zǒu xià pō</i> (走下坡, go down the slope), <i>luō hòu</i> (落後, lag behind), <i>kāi bù zǒu</i> (開步走/ 起步走, started to run), <i>chóng fǎn</i> (重返, return), <i>tíng liú</i> (停留, stay), <i>yuán dì tà bù</i> (原地踏步, walk in the same place), <i>dà xíng qí dào</i> (大行其道, walk their own ways), <i>héng xíng</i> (橫行, sideways)
Damage done the <b>economy</b>	<i>yī jué bù zhèn</i> (一蹶不振, fell down and unable to get up) <i>tān huàn</i> (癱瘓, paralysed)
Importance of the <b>economy</b>	<i>jǔ zú qīng zhòng</i> (举足轻重, stand with one leg that resulted in imbalance = play a decisive role)
Speed of economic processes	<i>bù</i> (步, step)
Predictions of the <b>economy</b>	<i>zǒu shì</i> (走勢, running posture)



As shown in Table 5.4, the aspects of the **economy** conceptualized via these motion verbs include:

- i. the progress of the **economy**;
- ii. the damage done to the **economy**;
- iii. the importance of the **economy**;
- iv. the speed of the **economy**
- v. predictions about the **economy**

It can be seen that the first two aspects conceptualized via the movements of the **economy** are the same in the two corpora, that is, the progress and damage of the **economy**. Moreover these motion metaphors also help realize the primary metaphors, DOWN IS BAD, BALANCE IS GOOD, IMBALANCE IS BAD, FORWARD IS GOOD and BACKWARD IS BAD. Although both corpora utilize motion verbs to describe the **economy** as a travelling entity, a smaller variety of manner verbs describing the bodily movements of the **economy** can be observed in the HKEJC. Moreover as shown in Table 5.4, the last three aspects of the **economy** described in the HKEJC are different from those observed in the UKGC. These differences resulted from the variations in the metaphorical extensions of the word ‘step’ (*bù*, 步) and the motions related to ‘standing’ and ‘running’ in the HKEJC. These differences

in metaphorical extensions in turn realize the different metaphors PREDICTION IS RUNNING, IMPORTANCE IS STANDING and SPEED IS STEPS in the HKEJC. In the following subsections, the conceptual metaphors observed in the movements of the **economy** in the HKEJC are discussed.

### 5.3.1 FORWARD IS GOOD and DOWN IS BAD

Similar to the UKGC, the primary metaphor FORWARD IS GOOD can be observed in the phrases ‘walk ahead’ (*xiàng qián zǒu*, 向前走) and ‘stride forward’ (*dà bù xiàng qián*, 大步向前). For instance

391 ... pushed the economy to walk ahead further ... (HKEJC\_Jan/06)  
(... 推动 经济 愈向前走 ...)

819 The **Chinese economy** still strode forward. (HKEJC\_Nov/06)  
(中国经济 仍 大步向前 。)

Moreover the primary metaphor DOWN IS BAD can be observed in the phrase ‘go down the slope’ (*zǒu xià pō*, 走下坡), ‘slump’ (*xiàn rù*, 陷入) and ‘fell down and unable to get up’ (*yī jué bù zhèn*, 一蹶不振).

424 In 1990 the **Japanese economy** went down a slope ... (HKEJC\_Aug/06)  
(1990 年 日本 经济 走下坡 ...)

574 In fact, the **Chinese economy** has slumped into a restricted situation ... (HKEJC\_May/06)  
(... 其实 中国 经济 已 陷入 困局 ...)

633 The **Taiwanese economy** fell down and was unable to get up ... (HKEJC\_Nov/06)  
(台湾经济 一蹶不振 ...)

In the example above, the downward movement of the **Taiwanese economy** helps conceptualize the falling status of the **economy**. Similar to the UKGC, these falling movements also entail an imbalance of the **economy**, realizing the primary metaphor IMBALANCE IS BAD.

### 5.3.2 MOVING SIDEWAYS IS BAD

In the HKEJC, movements of the **economy** are not only vertical and horizontal movements; the **economy** may walk ('move' in English language) sideways. This means that the **economy** is walking ('moving') to its left or right with the eyes facing forward. This unusual movement is extended metaphorically to describe illegal economic activities. For instance

652 The **underground economy** is walking (moving) sideways, the laws are only 'written papers'.

(... 地下经济 横行，法治 徒具 虚文。)

(HKEJC\_Oct/06)

In line 652 above, the seriousness of the **underground economy** is described as 'walking (moving) sideways', which implies that the activities run by the underground **economy** are illegal. Moreover the term 'underground **economy**' also connotes a negative evaluation. The word 'underground' implies that the activities operated by the underground **economy** are illegal and thus cannot be exposed to the public.

### 5.3.3 DAMAGE IS PARALYSIS

In the HKEJC, external events damaging the **economy** are also portrayed as serious physical injuries, realizing the conceptual metaphor DAMAGE IS PARALYSIS. For instance

671 The corruption of Angola in Africa has made its economy nearly paralysed... (HKEJC\_Jan/06)  
(非洲 安哥拉 的 贪污 令 经济 濒于瘫痪 ...)

In the above example, the **economy** is described as ‘nearly paralysed’ (瘫痪) due to corruption in Angola. Similar to the UKGC, this collocation also entails a loss of balance, realizing the primary metaphor IMBALANCE IS BAD. Nevertheless the rather static verb ‘made’ is used to describe how the corruption has damaged the **economy**. Unlike the description in the UKGC (as in ‘bring to its knees’ and ‘plunged’), this static description of the problem (the corruption) is less likely to evoke dynamic imageries as in the UKGC.

### 5.3.4 IMPORTANCE IS STANDING

Standing postures of the **economy** can also be observed, as in ‘lifting one leg up that resulted in imbalanced weight’ (*jǔ zú qīng zhòng* ‘举足轻重’, = importance). This phrase is a Chinese idiom which can be translated as ‘important’ or ‘play a decisive role’ in the English language. This idiom creates a mental imagery of an imbalanced

person standing on one leg. Normally, people who stand on one leg would lose their balance due to the imbalanced weights of the left and right side of their bodies. According to the *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary* (*Xian Dai Hanyu Cidian*, 2008), in this idiom, the imbalanced weight of the two sides of the body caused by standing on one leg, is metaphorically extended to describe the important influence of a person or an entity on other entities. In other words, just as a person standing on one leg may result in the imbalanced weights between the two sides of the body, an important person may affect the balance state of other entities. For instance

- 145 ... the **USA economy** 'lifted one leg that resulted in imbalanced weight' (important) to Japan.  
(... 美国经济 对 日本 举足轻重 ...)  
(HKEJC\_Feb/06)
- 688 Hong Kong has an extrovert economy, the **USA and Mainland economies** 'lifted one leg up that resulted in imbalanced weight' (important to Hong Kong)  
(... 本港 作为 外向形 经济 , 美国 及 内地经济 情况 举足轻重 ...)  
(HKEJC\_Nov/06)
- 345 ... It can be seen that in gambling 'lifting one leg results in imbalanced weight' (important) to **Macau's economy**.  
(...可见 赌业 对 澳门经济 举足轻重。)  
(HKEJC\_Nov/06)

In the three examples above, the '**USA economy**', the '**Mainland economy**' and 'the income from the gambling business are described as 'lifting one leg up that results in imbalance' ( *jǔ zú qīng zhòng* 举足轻重). This means that they are important and influential as they can affect the stability of **the Japanese, Hong Kong and Macau economies** respectively.

Although both of the metaphorical extensions of the physical motion ‘standing’ in the two corpora are derived from the BALANCE schema, the focus of this schema is different in these two metaphorical extensions. In the UKGC, the mapping of the physical motion ‘standing’ to reflect the mental attitude of the **economy** appears to be derived from the importance of a *balanced* state. In contrast in the HKEJC, the mapping of the imbalanced weight of the two sides of a person as the important influence of one entity on other entities focuses on the triggering of a *lack of balance*.

### 5.3.5 SPEED IS STEPS

In the HKEJC, the metaphorical extension of the word ‘step’ as ‘action’ is not as clear as in the UKGC. It appears that the word ‘step’ tends to refer to the growing speed of the **economy** or activities in the HKEJC. For instance,

489 ... unless the steps of the external economy slow down, and have affected the performance of the exports from China ...  
 (...除非 **外围经济** 步伐 减慢, 拖累 中国出口 表现 ...)(HKEJC\_Jan/06)

507 ... Several increases in the interest rates in the USA and high oil price have started to slow down the step of the **economy** and the housing market ...  
 (... 美国 连番 加息 及 能源 价格 高企 已 开始 拖慢 经济 及 住屋 市场 的 步伐 ...)(HKEJC\_Jul/06)

As shown in the examples above, the growing speed of the **economy** is referred to as ‘slow down of the steps’. In this respect, the same speed can be described as the ‘same step’. For instance

371 ... there is no reason to think that under different developmental stages, the building industry needs to grow in the same step with the **macroeconomy** ...  
 (没有理由 认为 在 不同 的 发展 时期 建造业 都必须 与 **总体 经济** 同步增长。)(HKEJC\_Mar/06)

Moreover in the UKGC, the word ‘step’ tends to be modified by words related to quality and evaluation whereas it tends to co-occur with words showing the intensity of the speed in the HKEJC. For instance

683 In recent years the **Mainland economy** furthered one step opened and has become more mature ...  
(近年 内地 **经济** 进一步 开放 和 更趋 成熟...) (HKEJC\_Feb/06)

646 The **Chinese economy** integrated step by step into the world free trade system ...  
(中国 **经济** 一步步 融入世界 自由贸易 体系内...) (HKEJC\_Jun/06)

In the examples above, speed (or ‘step’) of the **Chinese economy** is modified in terms of quantity, as in ‘furthered one step’ (*jìn yí bù* 进一步) and ‘step by step’ (*zhú bù/yī bù bù* 逐步/一步步). These modifiers help elaborate the speed of the **economy**. Moreover by describing the movements of the **economy** as taking only one step at a time, the cautious manner of the **economy** is reflected.

### 5.3.6 PREDICTION IS WALKING OR RUNNING

In general both corpora describe the progress of the **economy** as physical movements, such as ‘running’, ‘going’, ‘slump’ and the like. In the HKEJC, a fixed expression ‘posture of the movements’ (*‘zou shi’* 走势) can be observed. The first word in this expression, ‘movement’ (*‘zou’* 走), describes the movements of a living organism in general, such as ‘running’ and ‘walking’. The second word of this expression,

‘posture’ (‘*shi*’ 势), literally means ‘posture’. This word implies a change of direction when the economy ‘walks’ or ‘runs’. As mentioned earlier, these two words are fixed expressions. When they co-occur, they tend to be understood figuratively. This phrase refers to the prediction of the **economy**. That is to say by looking at the movements of the economy, we can foresee whether the performance of the **economy** is good or bad. For instance

144 ... another important factor is, of course the running posture of the **USA economy**.

(... 另一个 必须 注意 的 因素 , 当然 是 美国 经济 的 走势。)

(HKEJC\_Nov/06)

397 ... the running posture of the **HK economy** and the price of commodities are affected more by the USA than the Mainland.

(本港 经济 及 物价 走势 受 美国 影响 , 多于 受 内地 影响 ...)

(HKEJC\_Nov/06)

As shown In the examples above, by looking at the ‘movement postures’ (*zou shi* , ‘走势’) of the **USA and Hong Kong economies**, such as how they run or walk, we can *predict* whether their performances are good or bad.

#### 5.4 The journey in the UKGC

In general the journey which the **economy** travels along can be divided into two parts; the path itself and the locations on the path. It is observed that the path is sometimes specified as the path in a race. In the following subsections, a detailed discussion of



the conceptualization of the **economy** via the path and the locations on the path are given.

#### 5.4.1 ECONOMIC COMPETITION IS A RACE

It can be observed that the journey is sometimes specified as a race. The competition between the athletes in a race helps conceptualize the competition between **the economies** and other entities. For instance

231 ... and one that creates the skills base needed to ensure Northern Ireland's **economy** doesn't get left behind.  
(UKGC\_Jun/06)

In line 231 above, the **Northern Ireland economy** is depicted as one of the competitors in a race. Similar to the athletes who need to equip and train themselves for the race, in this economic race 'skills base' is implemented to strengthen and empower the competitiveness of the **Northern Ireland economy** so that it can keep up with other competitors.

#### 5.4.2 TIME IS SPACE

In the economic race, the primary metaphor 'TIME IS SPACE' is observed. It is observed that the temporal difference between the **economy** and other competitors are described as the spatial disparity among the athletes in a race. For instance

19 Yet Sweden's growth has consistently lagged behind other OECD **economies** since 1970. (UKGC\_Sept/06)

As shown by the example above, the temporal disparity between the economies starts from '1970'. It is metaphorized as a spatial difference when the **OECD economies** are described as entering a race in this example.

#### 5.4.3 STATES ARE LOCATIONS

In the UKGC locations that the **economy** has passed by include 'the chute', 'the world league', 'deflation', 'downturn', 'a period of decline', 'recession' and 'a creaky anarchy'. Most of them are conventionalized economic terms. For instance

134. Because if the **economy** goes down the chute, there's not an awful lot left, is there?

(UKGC\_Jun/06)

290. The British **economy** has slipped down the world league in terms of competitiveness but remains in the top 10 for the second year running.

(UKGC\_Nov/06)

In the examples above, 'the chute' and the 'world league' are two conventional ways of ranking status. They are metaphorized as locations from where the **economy** can physically go downward. Since DOWN IS BAD, the downward movements along these locations help conceptualize the falling status of the **economy**.

Moreover they tend to be conceptualized as bounded locations which help describe weak and unfavourable situations of the **economy**, realizing the conceptual metaphor

UNFAVOURABLE STATES ARE BOUNDED REGIONS (see Table 5.5 on p.226).

Table 5.5 Examples illustrating the conceptual metaphor STATES ARE BOUNDED LOCATIONS in the UKGC

Concordance lines	Manner of movements	States as locations
25 ... the <b>economy</b> would have already <u>come out of deflation</u> and gone into an autonomous and sustainable recovery. (UKGC_Feb/06)	‘come out of’	‘deflation’ (a bounded region)
83 ... the central bank must do everything in its power, if necessary dropping money from helicopters, to prevent the <b>economy</b> <u>sliding into deflation</u> - a real danger at that time. (UKGC_Jan/06)	‘sliding into’	‘deflation’ (a bounded region)
22 This is likely to concern analysts, who are watching for signs the US <b>economy</b> is <u>entering a period of decline</u> . (UKGC_Sept/06)	‘entering’	‘a period of decline’ (a bounded region)
241 Cuba may look forlorn, all peeling buildings and pockmarked roads. Its <b>economy</b> may have long since <u>tumbled into creaking anarchy</u> . (UKGC_Aug/06)	‘tumbled into’	‘creaking anarchy’ (a bounded region)
11 The news encouraged those who hope the US <b>economy</b> <u>will not slip into recession</u> and the dollar edged higher after its recent falls. (UKGC_Nov/06)	‘slip into’	‘recession’ (a bounded region)
119 In the short term, there is no suggestion that the <b>economy</b> <u>is going to lurch into recession</u> . (UKGC_May/06)	‘lurch into’	‘recession’ (a bounded region)
8 ... modern Cassandras will eventually be vindicated, or whether both the US and UK <b>economies</b> will somehow <u>stumble into stability</u> , as they have these past few years... (UKGC_Feb/06)	‘stumble into’	‘stability’ (a bounded region)
134 Because if the <b>economy</b> <u>goes down the chute</u> , there’s not an awful lot left, is there? (UKGC_Jun/06)	‘goes down’	‘the chute’
290 The British <b>economy</b> <u>has slipped down</u> the world league, in terms of competitiveness but remains in the top 10 for the second year running. (UKGC_Nov/06)	‘slipped down’	‘the world league’
51 It nearly collapsed in 2001 after it over-expanded as the <b>economy</b> <u>went through a downturn</u> and competition increased. (UKGC_Sept/06)	‘went through’	‘a downturn’

As discussed in Chapter Three, the pattern <motion verbs referring to the fall of the **economy** + into + recession> helps deliver the negative evaluation of the **economy** can be observed in the December sub-folder of the UKGC. In the whole corpus, this pattern also occurs quite frequently except ‘recession’ is not the only container after the preposition ‘into’. As shown in Table 5.6 other words such as ‘downturn’,

‘deflation’, ‘decline’, ‘creaky anarchy’ and ‘stability’ are also conceptualized as containers. These words, except ‘stability’, show a semantic preference of delivering a negative evaluation of the **economy**. These words reflect that the containers following the pattern <motion verbs referring to the fall of the **economy** + into> are very likely the words connoting unfavourable conditions. In the whole corpus, this pattern of delivering the negative evaluations of the **economy** can be described as follows:

<motion verbs referring to the fall of the **economy** + into + words delivering negative evaluations of the **economy** as a container>

Moreover the states are sometimes delineated as periodical, as in ‘a period of decline’.

- 22 This is likely to concern analysts, who are watching for signs the US **economy** is entering a period of decline. (UKGC\_Aug/06)

As mentioned in Chapter Three the performance of an economy is often described as a cycle with four stages, namely *depression*, *recovery*, *boom* and *recession*. In this respect, the phrase ‘a period of decline’ implies that the **economy** was going through the stages of either ‘*recession*’ or ‘*depression*’ and that another turn of ‘*recovery*’ or ‘*boom*’ is expected in the future.

## 5.5 The journey in the HKEJC

Likewise, the journey of the **economy** in the HKEJC can also be divided into two parts: the path and the locations on the path. Apart from metaphorizing the path as the path of a race, it is also conceived as the route in a war. Both of them help emphasize the competitions from the other entities. Moreover it can be observed that the path is metaphorically extended to delineate the style of the **economy**. When the states of the **economy** are mapped via the locations on the path, a greater variety of locations are observed in the HKEJC. In the following subsections, the metaphorizations of the path and the locations on the path are discussed.

### 5.5.1 The metaphorization of the path

#### a. ECONOMIC COMPETITION IS A RACE

Similar to the UKGC, the path is also delineated as a race in the HKEJC in order to illustrate economic competitions.

4 ... In the last two years, the **Hong Kong economy** has picked up the rising track, the suspended race has started again... (HKEJC\_Feb/06)

(... 过去 两年， 香港 **经济** 重拾 升轨， 中断后 的 竞赛重新 开步 ...)

757... but the government is corrupt and incapable. In addition, the educational level is low. Therefore, the **economy** has lagged behind for a long time) (HKEJC\_Feb/06)

(... 但 政府 贪污 无能，加上 教育 水平低，令 **经济** 长期落后。)

In the examples above, economic competitions are described as races, as in

‘suspended race’ (line 4) and ‘lagged behind’ (line 757).

#### b. TIME IS SPACE

In the HKEJC, the temporal disparity between the entities in the economic competition is also metaphorized as physical distance between the athletes in a race.

669 ... the stock price usually runs 3 to 9 months ahead of the **economy**. The stock price reflects not the current but the future situation. Therefore, the stock price will improve before the **economy** turns good. The stock price will fall before the **economy** turns bad.

(... 股价 通常 走在 经济 之前 三至 九个月, 股市 反映 嘅 唔系 今天 情况 而系 未来, 所以 經濟 情况 未好 股市 先好, 經濟 情况 未壞 股價 先跌。)  
(HKEJC\_Oct/06)

In the example above, both the stock price and the **economy** are indicators which help reflect the future prospects of a country. They are metaphorized as two runners in a race wherein the stock price runs faster than the **economy**. As mentioned in this example, the stock price is described as running three to nine months faster than the **economy**. This temporal disparity between their performances is measured as the spatial difference between two athletes in a race. In this sentence it means that the influence of the external factors on the stock price can be observed three to nine months earlier than its effect on the **economy**.

In the HKEJC the progress of the **economy** is sometimes metaphorized as a traveller travelling alone on a journey. Similar to the above examples, the progress which is

measured in terms of time is also metaphorized as spatial progress. In line 627 below, the **Hong Kong economy** had started the journey (or progress) in 1950 and reached its fullest speed in 1980. This means that the **Hong Kong economy** started its initial development and reached its fullest development from 1950 to 1980.

627... Hong Kong **economy**, similar to other South East Asian countries or South American countries, had started running since 1950, and reached its peak in 1980...  
(... 香港 便一如 其他 东南亚 国家 或 拉丁美洲 国家 一样 , 经济 由 1950 年起步 , 1980 年 见 顶 ...)  
(HKEJC\_ Apr/06)

Moreover ‘time’ may also be expressed in terms of the seasons in a year. For instance

229 ... Hong Kong **economy** has walked (‘moved’ in English language) past the chilling winter, the economic recovery has started to benefit the public.  
(香港 的 经济 已 走过 严冬 , 经济 复甦 已 开始 惠及 普罗大众 。)  
(HKEJC\_Feb/06)

In line 229 above, the **Hong Kong economy** is described as ‘has walked (moved) past’ the chilling winter. In this example, the winter season helps reflect the passage of time and it is measured as spatial distance. Moreover the scenery and weather in winter also help conceptualize the state of the **economy**. As indicated in this example the difficult situation of the Hong Kong **economy** is mapped as lifeless scenery and cold weather in winter. As the performance of an economy is periodic, a more favourable condition of the **economy** is expected to come after difficult times (as in ‘economic recovery’ in line 229), just as spring is expected after the winter.

### c. DIFFICULTIES ARE WARS

In line 642 below, the path may also be metaphorized as a route in the war. Indeed, the delineation of the **economy** in terms of war is common in economic discourse. The WAR metaphor helps intensify the seriousness of the poor condition of the **economy**.

642 Today **the Taiwanese economic** situation is at a dead-end, the soldiers are chasing after it!  
(... 今天 台湾 经济 处境 系 前无 进路、 后有 追兵！) (HKEJC\_Aug/06)

In this example, the **Taiwanese economy** is described as running into a dead-end and a lot of enemies are chasing after it. The mental imagery created in this war scenario intensifies the hopelessness of the **Taiwanese economy**.

### d. STYLE IS PATH

In the HKEJC the styles of the **economy** can be metaphorized as a path.

648 ... in addition **the underground economy** walks its path vigorously (is prosperous). It led to a decrease in tax and dragged the effective tax rate downward indirectly. (HKEJC\_Aug/06)  
加上 地下经济 大行其道，局限了 税收，间接 拖低了 有效 税率。

322 ... it hopes to avoid slumping into the old path of the Japanese **economy** in 1990.  
(... 更 希望 避免 重陷 1990 年 起 日本 经济 嘅 老路。 ) (HKEJC\_Mar/06)

600 ... people are worried that the future Chinese **economy** may walk (move) onto the Japanese or the Hong Kong styles. (HKEJC\_Jun/06)  
(... 令人 担心 未来 中国 经济 极有 可能 走上 日本模式 或 香港模式 ...)



In line 648 above, the path refers to the illegal activities of the **underground economy**. As the co-text explains, these illegal activities have ‘led to the decrease in tax and indirectly dragged the effective tax rate downward’. In line 322, the ‘path’ refers to the way Japan managed its economy. In this example, ‘path’ co-occurs with ‘old’. As explained in *The Chinese Contemporary Dictionary* (Xian Dai Han Yu Ci Dian 2008), the co-occurrence of these two words (‘old path’) usually refers to outdated methods. In this respect, it means that the previous method (or style) of the Japanese **economy** was unsuccessful and thus the other economies should ‘avoided slumping into it’. In the last example (line 600), the motion verb ‘run on’ implies that the Japanese and Hong Kong styles are metaphorized as paths. The co-text of this concordance line (as in ‘people are worried’) implies that both the Japanese and Hong Kong styles were not successful.

#### 5.5.2 STATES ARE LOCATIONS

In the HKEJC, the states of the **economy** are also mapped as locations travelled through. Similar to the UKGC these locations are also delineated as bounded locations. As mentioned in sub-section 5.4.3, bounded locations derived from the CONTAINER schema tend to connote unfavourable conditions of the **economy**. In the

HKEJC, this tendency can also be observed by the modifiers describing the situations of the **economy** as bounded locations. For example

594 There are some indications that **the economy** is walking (moving) out of the trapped/ restricted situation ...  
(经济 有些微 步出 困境 的 迹象 ...)

(HKEJC\_Mar/ 06)

643 **The Taiwanese economy** still cannot walk (move) out of the trapped/restricted situation ...

(台湾 经济 仲系 走唔出 困局 ...)

(HKEJC\_ May/06)

In the above examples, the situation of the **economy** is described as a ‘restricted situation’ (*kùn jú* 困局 and *kùn jìng* 困境). The second words in these two collocations, that is, *jú* (局, situation) and *jìng* (境, situation), describe the locations as bounded locations. Both of these two locations are modified by the same word which means ‘trapped’ or ‘restricted’ (*kùn* 困). This modifier helps explain that the unfavourable situations of the **economy** are also delineated as bounded locations in the HKEJC.

Nevertheless observations of other bounded locations also suggest that these locations may help describe positive situations of the **economy** in the HKEJC. Table 5.6 below shows that the terms described as bounded locations can be divided into nine main types. The first five types of locations are related to i) the features of an object; ii) vertical movements of anonymous objects; iii) the growth of living things; iv) The

landing of aeroplanes; and v) operations of the vehicles. These five types as locations are mainly the common economic terms which help describe the performance and the growing speed of the **economy**. In general, the terms in these first five types can also be observed in the JOURNEY metaphor in the UKGC.

The sixth to the eighth types of locations are more common in the HKEJC than in the UKGC. They are related to the human life cycle, landscapes and scenery, and the styles of the **economy**. These three types of term indicate that a greater variety of locations can be observed in the JOURNEY metaphor in the HKEJC. The phrase in the ninth group, 'the seven fat cow years' is a one-shot example borrowed from the Bible to describe the positive growth of the **economy**.

On the whole these terms are frequently described as periodical in order to describe the cyclic performance of the **economy** (please refer to the 'note' in the Table). The following sub-sections discuss the main differences between the locations in the two corpora, that is, from type six to type eight.

Table 5.6 Different types of bounded locations in the HKEJC

<b>i. Features of an object</b> ‘inflation (period)’ < <i>tōng zhāng (qī)</i> 通胀(期)> ‘disinflation (period)’ < <i>tōng sù (qī)</i> 通缩(期)> ‘re-inflation (period)’ < <i>zài péng zhāng (qī)</i> 再膨胀(期)> ‘stagflation (period)’ < <i>zhì zhāng (qī)</i> 滞胀(期)> ‘over-heating (period)’ < <i>guò rè (qī)</i> 过热(期)> ‘cooling off (period)’ < <i>lěng què (qī)</i> 冷却(期)> ‘expansion (period)’ < <i>kuò zhāng (qī)</i> 擴張(期)> ‘contraction (period)’ < <i>shōu suō (qī)</i> 收缩(期)>	<b>ii. Vertical movements of anonymous objects</b> ‘(period) of cyclical upturn’ < <i>shàng shēng (qī)</i> 上升(周期)> ‘(period) of slide’ < <i>xià huá (qī)</i> 下滑(周期)> ‘recession (period)’ < <i>shuāi tuì (qī)</i> 衰退(期)>	<b>iii. The growth of living things</b> ‘the (period) of decelerated growth’ < <i>zēng cháng fàng huǎn (qī)</i> 增長放緩(期)> ‘the (period) of stable growth’ < <i>píng wěn zēng cháng (qī)</i> 平穩增長(期)> ‘the (period) of high growth’ < <i>gāo zēng cháng (qī)</i> 高增長(期)> ‘the (period) of prosperity’ < <i>fán róng (qī)</i> 繁榮(期)> ‘the (period) of development’ < <i>fā zhǎn (qī)</i> 發展(期)> ‘the (period) of recovery’ < <i>fù sū jiē duàn</i> 復甦(階段)>
<b>iv. Landing of the aeroplanes</b> ‘safe landing (period)’ < <i>ān quán zhuó lù (qī)</i> 安全着陆(期)> ‘soft-landing (period)’ < <i>ruǎn zhuó lù (qī)</i> 軟着陆(期)> ‘taking-off (period)’ < <i>qǐ fēi (qī)</i> 起飛(期)>	<b>v. Vehicle</b> ‘driving in low-gear (period)’ < <i>dī bō xíng chē (qī)</i> 低波行(期)>	<b>vi. Human life cycle</b> ‘maturity’ < <i>chéng shú (qī)</i> 成熟(期)> ‘middle- age’ < <i>zhōng nián jiē duàn</i> 中年(階段)> ‘old-age’ < <i>lǎo nián (qī)</i> 老年(期)> ‘speedy growth’ < <i>gāo sù chéng zhǎng (qī)</i> 高速成長(期)>
<b>vii. Landscapes and scenery</b> ‘period of desolation’ < <i>xiāo tiáo</i> 蕭條> ‘valley bottom’ < <i>gǔ dǐ</i> 谷底> ‘chilling winter’ < <i>yán dōng</i> 嚴冬> ‘highland period’ < <i>gāo yuán (qī)</i> 高原期> ‘withering and shrinking period’ < <i>wěi suō (qī)</i> 萎縮期> ‘winter’ < <i>qiū jì</i> 秋季>	<b>viii. Referring to the style of the economy</b> ‘period of intellectual property’ < <i>zhī shì chǎn quán (shí dài)</i> 知識產權(時代)> ‘The fourth period’ < <i>dì sì (jiē duàn)</i> 第四(階段)> ‘transitional period’ < <i>zhuǎn xíng (jī)</i> 轉型(期)> ‘the period of great consumption’ < <i>dà liàng xiāo fèi (jī)</i> 大量消費期> ‘the period of great adjustment’ < <i>dà tiáo zhěng (jī)</i> 大調整期> ‘the third period of capitalism’ < <i>zī běn zhǔ yì dì sān jiē duàn</i> 資本主義第三階段> ‘the period of three-head carriage’ < <i>sān tóu mǎ chē shí qī</i> 三頭馬車時期> ‘from the stage of electronic technology period entering ...’ < <i>yóu diàn zǐ kē jì shí qī jìn rù</i> 由電子科技時期進入 ...>	<b>ix. Miscellaneous</b> ‘the seven fat cow years’ < <i>qī zhī féi niú nián</i> 七只肥牛年>

(Note: the words in brackets indicate that the term can either describe the states of the **economy** in single incidents or as periodical)

a. ECONOMIC SITUATIONS ARE STAGES IN A HUMAN LIFE CYCLE AS LOCATIONS

In the HKEJC, some concordance lines indicate that the path can be divided into different segments of time. Each segment of time is a stage in a life cycle, such as ‘speedy growth’ (*gāo sù chéng zhǎng qī* 高速成长期, line 175), ‘maturity’ (*chéng shú qī* 成熟期, line 163), ‘middle-age’ (*zhōng nián jiē duàn* 中年阶段, line 341) and ‘old-age’ (*lǎo nián qī* 老年期, line 234). These terms are often employed to describe the stages in the human life cycle. It is worth noting that the word ‘growth’ or ‘grow’ may refer to all living things in English but this word in Chinese ‘*cheng zhang qi*’ (成长期 ‘growth’, line 175) refers to the growth in human beings only.

When these terms are metaphorized as bounded locations to illustrate a change of state of the **economy**, stages from infancy till adolescence are mapped as the growing of the **economy** (*chéng shú qī* 成熟期). The decline of energy in ‘maturity’ (*chéng shú qī* 成熟期), ‘middle-age’ (*zhōng nián jiē duàn* 中年阶段) and ‘old-age’ (*lǎo nián qī* 老年期) is metaphorized as the weakening stages of the **economy**. As it is a cycle, the performance from best to worst and then from worst to best is expected to reoccur in the **economy** although it is unlikely to recur in a human being. For instance

175 ... after war, the USA **economy** has entered the speedy growth period...

(... 战后 美国 经济 进入 高速 成长期 ...)

(HKEJC\_Oct/06)

- 163 ... in addition, the USA **economy** has already entered maturity. If (the USA) does not increase the currency supply to stimulate the economy, it will slump into recession easily.  
(... 加上 美国 经济 早已 进入 成熟期, 如 不增加 货币 去 刺激 经济, 十分 容易 陷入 衰退。)  
(HKEJC\_Nov/06)
- 341 ... the Hong Kong **economy** has gradually walked into the ('reached' in English language) middle-age, similar to people in middle-age, the glamorous days of sharp rises of income has gone ...  
(... 本港 经济 已逐渐 步入 了 中年阶段, 一如 人到中年, 收入 大幅 上升 的 风光 日子 不再 ...)  
(HKEJC\_Feb/06)
- 234 ... in addition to the man-made prosperity produced by the currency policy from January 2001 to May 2006, the **economy** has already entered ('reached') old-age.  
(... 再加上 2001 年 1 月至 2006 年 5 月 利用 货币 政策 制造 出嚟嘅 繁荣 经济 早已 进入 老年 期。)  
(HKEJC\_Aug/06)

Moreover the co-texts in lines 163 and 341 also help confirm the weakening of the **economy**. In line 163, the **economy** 'slumped into recession' after it had entered 'maturity'. In line 341, 'the glamorous days of sharp rises in income disappeared' after the Hong Kong **economy** entered 'middle-age'.

#### b. ECONOMIC SITUATIONS ARE LOCATIONS WITH THEIR OWN LANDSCAPES AND SCENERY

Landscapes and scenery that help conceptualize the states of the **economy** can be observed in the HKEJC. Indeed some of them are common economic terms, such as 'a period of plateau' (高原期), 'the bottom of the valley' (谷底) and 'low tide' (低潮).

- 127 ... it is believed that the rate-hike cycle in the USA has ceased, the USA **economy** has entered 'a period of plateau' ...  
(... 相信 美国 加息 周期 告一段落, 美国 经济 进入 「高原期」 ...)  
(HKEJC\_Aug/06)
- 296 ... the Japanese **economy** has walked ('moved') out of the valley bottom ...  
(... 日本 经济 步出 谷底 ...)  
(HKEJC\_Apr/06)
- 437 Since **The Japanese economy** walked ('moved') out of the low valley six months ago, it grows continuously ...  
(... 日本经济 自六个月前 走出 低谷后 持续增长 ...)  
(HKEJC\_Jul/06)

- 57 It is believed that two years later, the **Hong Kong economy** will enter the low tide again ...  
(相信 两年后 香港 经济 再 进入 低潮 ...)  
(HKEJC\_Oct/06)

In line with the primary metaphors UP IS GOOD and DOWN IS BAD, when the **economy** enters a landscape located at high altitude, as in ‘a period of plateau’ (*gāo yuán qī* 高原期, line 127), it means that the **economy** is in good condition. However, this term also implies that the **economy** cannot reach a higher level after having stayed in a good condition for a period of time. In contrast when the places the **economy** entered were located at low altitude, as in ‘the valley bottom’ (*gǔ dǐ* 谷底, lines 296 and 437) and the ‘low tide’ (*dī cháo* 低潮, line 57), it means that the condition of the **economy** is weak and unfavourable.

In addition, the HKEJC tends to employ the scenery in different seasons to describe the situations of the **economy**, such as the scenery in the ‘chilling winter’ mentioned in section 5.5.1. In the example below the lifeless scenery of late autumn and winter is employed to describe the situation of the **economy**.

- 728 ... the USA, Europe and Japan tried hard to maintain a low rate in order to prevent the **economy** slumping into *xiao tiao*/depression ...  
(... 美国、欧洲 和 日本 的 央行 都 致力 维持 低利率 环境，以 保持 经济 不致 陷入 萧条 ...)  
(HKEJC\_Feb/06)

In this example, the **economy** has ‘slumped into *xiao tiao*’ (萧条, depression).

According to the *Chinese Contemporary Dictionary (Xian Dai Hanyu Cidian)*, the

lexical item '*xiao tiao*' (萧条, depression) is usually used to describe the empty and lifeless situation in late autumn and winter. When this lexical item is employed to describe the **economy**, it means that the activities and transactions of the **economy** are few and inactive, just as the emptiness and lifeless scenery we perceive in late autumn and winter. On the other hand, the collocation '*xiao tiao*' (萧条) is often translated as 'depression' in economic discourse in an English context. According to the Oxford Dictionary, the word 'depression' literally means 'the action of lowering, or process of sinking; the condition of being lowered in position.' It tends to metaphorically extended as 'The condition of being depressed in spirits'. In other words, in the English language, when 'depression' is used to describe the weak **economy**, it would more likely evoke an image of the **economy** with an unhealthy mental state rather than evoke the lifeless scenery in late autumn and winter.

(<http://www.oed.com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/view/Entry/50451?redirectedFrom=depression#eid>)

### c. THE STYLES OF THE ECONOMY AS LOCATIONS

As mentioned previously the path can also be metaphorized as the style of the **economy** in the HKEJC. In the examples below, the style of the **economy** can also



be delineated as the locations on the path (see some of the examples below). In this respect, the change of style is mapped as a change of locations. For instance

594 ... the Chinese **economy** walked (move ) from the closed style to an open style ...  
(... 中国 经济 由 封闭式 走向 开放式 ...)(HKEJC\_Jun/06)

265 ‘... Our **economy** needs to walk (‘move’) towards a knowledge-based **economy** which possesses high-technology and high appreciation ...’  
(... 我们 的 经济 需要 走向 高技术、高增值 的 知识型 经济 ...)(HKEJC\_Oct/06)

In lines 594 and 265 above, the phrases ‘a closed style’, ‘an open style’ and ‘a knowledge-based **economy**’ refer to the style of the **economy**. In these two examples the change of style is described as walking (‘moving’) to and from these locations.

## 5.6 A summary of the conceptualizations of the two constituent elements in the JOURNEY metaphor in the two corpora

### 5.6.1 Similarities of the JOURNEY metaphor in the two corpora

On the whole many of the conceptual metaphors are very similar in the two corpora. The similar conceptual metaphors manifested in the two corpora are mainly primary metaphors such as UP IS GOOD, DOWN IS BAD, BALANCE IS GOOD, IMBALANCE IS BAD, FORWARD IS GOOD, BACKWARD IS BACK and TIME IS SPACE. As many cognitive linguists point out, these metaphors are more likely to be universal because embodied experience is more or less the same across cultures. Other similar metaphors include

ECONOMIC COMPETITION IS A RACE, PROBLEMS ARE PARALYSIS and STATES ARE LOCATIONS. It is believed that these metaphors are also shared by both corpora as our experience in races, physical journeys and illnesses are similar across cultures. Although both corpora manifest the same primary metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS, it is noted that a wider variety of linguistic expressions concerning the locations are observed in the HKEJC.

Moreover it is observed that the co-texts in both corpora help reinforce the evaluations carried in the conceptual metaphors. In other words when the conceptual metaphors carry a negative evaluation of the **economy**, usually the co-texts surrounding them are related to negative events. Similarly when the conceptual metaphors carry a positive evaluation of the **economy**, positive words are employed in the co-texts. For example as discussed in the section concerning the conceptual metaphor FORWARD IS GOOD, positive modifiers such as ‘giant’ are observed when the **economy** is described as ‘leaping forward’.

#### 5.6.2. Differences in the JOURNEY metaphors

In short differences of the JOURNEY metaphors in the two corpora can be observed in three ways: a) the different metaphorical extensions of the word, ‘step’; b) different

metaphorical extensions of motions and the path; c) the different frequencies of the two constituent elements in the JOURNEY metaphor, that is the **economy** as a travelling entity and the journey (including the locations and the path). The first three differences which have discussed throughout this chapter are summarized from page 241 to page 242 and the differences of the use of journey metaphor between these two corpora in terms of frequency is given from page 242 to 246.

a. Different metaphorical extensions of the words ‘step’ and ‘path’ and the motions related to ‘standing’ and ‘running’

As discussed in the analysis the word ‘step’ is metaphorically extended as ‘action’ in the UKGC whereas it tends to relate to ‘speed’ in the HKEJC. Moreover ‘path’ can refer to the ‘style’ of the **economy** in the JOURNEY metaphor in the HKEJC. These differences in metaphorical extensions have resulted in different metaphors in the two corpora (please refer to Table 5.7 below for a list of different metaphors observed in the two corpora).

Table 5.7 Different sub-metaphors observed in the JOURNEY metaphor in the UKGC and HKEJC

Alternative metaphors in UKGC	Alternative metaphors in HKEJC
ACTIONS ARE STEPS	SPEED IS STEPS
ATTITUDE IS STANDING	IMPORTANCE IS STANDING
	PREDICTION IS RUNNING
	STYLE IS PATH
	CHANGE OF STYLES IS CHANGE OF LOCATIONS
	SIDEWAYS MOVEMENTS ARE BAD

Although the metaphors STYLE IS PATH and CHANGE OF LOCATIONS IS CHANGE OF STYLES appear to be more common in the JOURNEY metaphor in the HKEJC, as Kovesces (2002) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999) mention these two metaphors are also common in English. However, they tend to be more common in the mechanistic metaphors in the UKGC. For instance,

260 The forecast is predicated on the transition of China from a predominantly agricultural society to a suburban, knowledge-based economy. (UKGC\_Feb/06)

15 ... a major milestone in China's transition towards a full market economy ... (UKGC\_Mar/06)

28 ... he will steer Cuba towards a Chinese-style economy and be more prepared to compromise. (UKGC\_Aug/06)

The above examples indicate that the **economy** is either metaphORIZED as a model (as in ‘transition from’, line 260) or a location that other countries are driving towards (as in ‘a *milestone* in China’s transition towards a full market economy’, line 215 and ‘*steer* towards a Chinese-style economy’, line 28). These examples help demonstrate that these two conceptual metaphors, STYLE IS PATH and CHANGE OF LOCATIONS IS CHANGE OF STYLES tend to be manifested in mechanistic metaphors in the English language.

Metaphorical extensions of the motions in the two corpora also show some differences. Firstly sideways movements can be observed in the HKEJC. This kind of movement helps conceptualize the illegal activities occurring in the black or

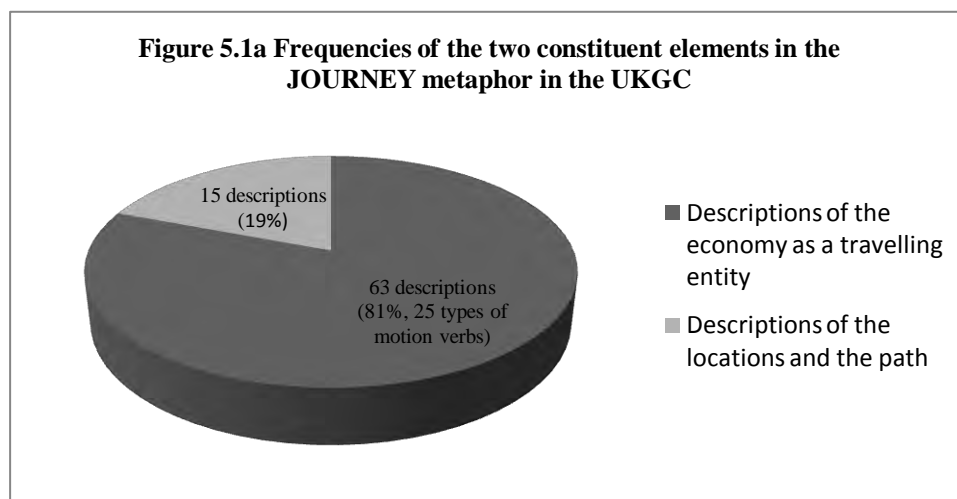
underground **economy**. Secondly the movements of the **economy**, as in ‘posture of walking or running’, (‘*zou shi*’ 走势) can refer to predictions whereas these motions mainly describe the progress of the **economy**. Moreover this phrase helps illustrate Deignan’s observation (2005) that some figurative meanings tend to occur in fixed expressions that also occur in the Chinese language. Thirdly motions related to ‘standing’ (as in ‘stand ready’, ‘stand aside’ and ‘lifting one leg up that resulted in imbalance’ (‘*jǔ zú qīng zhòng*’ 举足轻重) are metaphorically extended in different ways in the two corpora. As mentioned in the analysis, on a cognitive level this variation helps illustrate that the focus of attention of a schema may change when the motions are metaphorically extended to express different themes. In the UKGC the phrases ‘stand ready’ and ‘stand aside’ focus on the importance of *balance* whereas the phrase ‘lifting one leg up that resulted in imbalance’ focuses on the influential power of causing an *imbalance* in other entities. Accordingly, the two metaphorical extensions help illustrate two different themes in the UKGC and the HKEJC, that is the ideas related to attitudes and importance of the **economy** respectively.

#### b. Differences in frequency

Frequency count also helps reveal the different conceptualizations of the **economy** via the JOURNEY metaphor in these two corpora. In the UKGC, there are 64 instances of

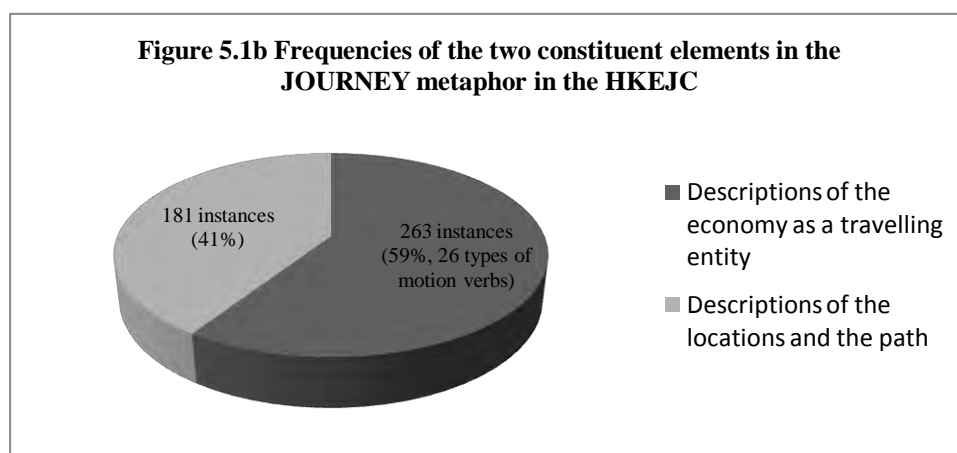
JOURNEY metaphors, which make up 78 descriptions of the travellers and the path.

As shown in Figure 5.1a in the JOURNEY metaphor, the descriptions of the **economy** as a travelling entity are much higher than the descriptions of the locations and the path. Around 19 percent (15 descriptions) of the descriptions conceptualize the **economy** via the locations whereas 81 percent (63 descriptions) of the descriptions focus on the **economy** as a travelling entity via motion verbs.



In the HKEJC, there are 270 instances of the JOURNEY metaphors, which make up 444 descriptions of the **economy** as a travelling entity and the locations and the path.

As shown in Figure 5.1b, descriptions of the **economy** via motion verbs are slightly higher than the descriptions of the locations and the path. There are 181 descriptions (41 percent) of the locations and the path and 263 descriptions (about 59 percent) of the **economy** as a travelling entity.



Nevertheless, the motion verb ‘enter’ is the main motion verb employed to describe the **economy** as a travelling entity in the HKEJC (118 tokens). Indeed the main focus of this motion verb is to help modify the locations where the **economy** is. When we deduct these 118 tokens from the total descriptions of the **economy** (263 - 118 = 145) and add them to the total descriptions of the locations and the path (181 - 118 = 63), it can be seen that the conceptualization of the **economy** mainly lies in the locations in the HKEJC.

The frequencies of the motion verbs in both corpora also help illustrate the differences between both corpora. While comparing the motion verbs realizing the **economy** in the two corpora, the types of motion verbs are very close in both corpora (25 types in the UKGC and 26 types in the HKEJC) although the frequency of the descriptions of the **economy** is much higher in the HKEJC. When we take into consideration that there are fewer lines of JOURNEY metaphors in the UKGC, the higher frequencies in

the descriptions of the **economy** as a travelling entity and the types of motion verbs become more significant in this corpus. Moreover as described in the analysis, many metaphors evoke imageries related to wars and fights in the UKGC. In these metaphors, both the agents in the sentences are mentioned. In contrast the **economy** in the HKEJC tends to travel alone on the journey (see section 5.5.1 b). These three components help deliver a more expressive and dynamic description of the **economy** in the UKGC.

In short the frequencies of the two constituent elements (i.e. the **economy** as a travelling entity and the journey) in the two corpora suggest that the focus of attention of the JOURNEY metaphor in these two corpora is different. The UKGC focuses more on the **economy** as a travelling entity whereas the HKEJC focuses more on the location and the path. Moreover the more salient description of the **economy** as a traveller via different kinds of motion verbs help make the conceptualization of the **economy** more expressive and dynamic in the UKGC. In contrast, the more frequent descriptions in the locations and path deliver a relatively static conceptualization of the **economy** in the HKEJC.



## 5.7 Cultural implications of the findings in the JOURNEY metaphors

### 5.7.1 Different metaphorical extensions of the same motions and words between the two corpora

Although it can be observed that many primary metaphors based on our embodied experience are shared in both corpora (e.g. DOWN IS BAD and FORWARD IS GOOD), the differences in the metaphorical extensions of some of the motions and the path suggest that the same embodied experience can vary on the figurative level. Moreover the comparison of the phrases related to ‘standing’ suggests that the utilization of the schema may also change when the same motions or words are metaphorically extended to express different themes.

### 5.7.2 Satellite-framed versus equipollently-framed languages

As mentioned earlier both corpora utilize motion verbs to describe the bodily movements of the **economy**. On a linguistic level, the motion verbs describing the **economy** as a travelling entity in the two corpora appear to be in line with the characteristics of satellite-framed languages (e.g. English) and equipollently-framed languages (e.g. Chinese). Slobin (2004) divides languages into three main types, the satellite-framed, verb-framed and equipollently-framed languages. Satellite-framed languages such as the English language focus on the manner of the motions (please

refer to the classification of the motion verbs observed in the UKGC in Table 5.8).

This feature appears to have resulted in the greater variety of manner verbs in the UKGC.

Table 5.8 Classifications of the motion verbs realizing the **economy** as a traveller in the UKGC

Different types of motion verbs	Examples of motion verbs
i. manner verbs	‘slide’, ‘slump’, ‘plummet’, ‘slip’, ‘tumble’, ‘falter’, ‘plunge’, ‘stumble’, ‘lurch’, ‘leap’, ‘run’
ii. path verbs	‘enter’
iii. deictic verbs	‘come’, ‘go’, ‘return’, ‘come out of’
iv. neutral verbs	‘stand’, ‘lag behind’

In addition to the manner verbs, equipollently-framed languages such as the Chinese language also consist of lexical items combining both the manner and the path of the motions, as in ‘slump into’ (*xiàn rù* 陷入) (see type i. motion verbs in Table 5.9 below for more examples). These lexical items are mainly composed of two fixed verbs, the first verb mainly describes the movements and the second verb encodes the direction of the movements. The function of the second verb is similar to prepositions in the English language, such as ‘in’, ‘into’ or ‘out of’. In other words when these two types of verbs co-occur, these ‘compound’ verbs are primed to be followed by locations. It can be seen from the syntactic structures of the journey metaphor in the HKEJC that this corpus tends to employ these kinds of ‘compound’ verbs more frequently than the ‘pure’ manner verbs. Therefore locations are

encoded after these ‘compound’ verbs in the Chinese language. Moreover the greater variety of bounded locations also suggests that the journey (including the locations and the path) is the more significant constituent element in the JOURNEY metaphor in the HKEJC.

Table 5.9 Different types of motion verbs realizing the **economy** as a travelling entity in the HKEJC

Different types of motion verbs	Examples in HKEJC	Literal meanings of the motion verbs
i. manner verbs + path verbs (tend to be fixed expressions, cannot be used separately)	<i>xiàn rù</i> (陷入, slump into), <i>tā rù</i> (踏入, step into) <i>bù rù</i> (步入, walk into)	slump + enter step + enter walk + enter
ii. manner verbs + path verbs (the manner verbs can be used without the path verbs)	<i>zǒu</i> (走, walk) <i>zǒu rù</i> (走入, walk into) <i>zǒu wú chū</i> (走唔出, cannot walk out of) <i>zǒu shàng</i> (走上, walk on the) <i>xiàng qián zǒu</i> (向前走, walk ahead ) <i>héng xíng</i> (橫行, walk sideways)	walk + enter walk + cannot exit walk + ascend forward + walk sideways + walk
iii. path verbs	<i>jìn rù</i> (进入, enter)	enter + enter
iv. deictic verbs	<i>chóng fǎn</i> (重返, return)	return
v. neutral verbs	<i>luō hòu</i> (落後, lag behind), <i>tíng liú</i> (停留, stay)	Fall + behind Stop + stay

On the other hand, many of the manner verbs observed in the UKGC may not necessarily be followed by the prepositions ‘in’ or ‘into’ so as to encode locations. It appears that these manner verbs are not always followed by prepositions such as ‘in’ or ‘into’ in the UKGC (see some examples below). In other words locations the **economy** travelled along may not be mentioned after the manner verbs in the UKGC.

Therefore the frequency of the locations in the JOURNEY metaphor is lower and the focus of attention lies on the **economy** as a travelling entity in the UKGC.

273 ... most Filipinos are struggling to survive in an **economy** which has slumped . (UKGC\_Feb/06)

34 If the US **economy** begins to slide ... (UKGC\_Mar/06)

97 ... suggesting the **economy** is not running too fast ... (UKGC\_Aug/06)

80 Then once the intifada started, the **economy** slumped. (UKGC\_Nov/06)

By and large, although the characteristics of the English language as a satellite-framed language and the Chinese language as an equipollently-framed language may have influenced the focus of attention of the JOURNEY metaphor in the two corpora, the choice that manner verbs in the UKGC may not encode locations and the choice that more ‘compound’ verbs instead of the ‘pure’ manner verbs are employed in the HKEJC have also contributed to the different saliencies of the two constituent elements in the JOURNEY metaphor in the two corpora.

### 5.7.3 Static versus dynamic cognitive processes

From the cognitive perspective, the different cognitive processes of the journalists in these two newspapers may have influenced the above choices, resulting in the different saliency of the two constituent elements in the two corpora. Talmy (2000) mentioned that cognitive processes can be divided into two types, dynamic and static. People with dynamic cognitive processes tend to focus on the foregrounded object

(figure) whereas people with static cognitive processes tend to focus on the field (background). It is believed that the British and the Chinese, being seen as representatives of the Eastern and Western cultures, belong to the dynamic and static cognitive processes respectively (e.g. Nisbett 2005, Nisbett et al 2000). In the analysis it also appears that the UKGC demonstrates more of an interest in the foregrounded objects (e.g. the **economy** as a traveller) through the utilization of different types of manner verbs and these verbs may not encode locations. This finding suggests that the dynamic cognitive processes among the British journalists may have led to the more salient description of the figure (the **economy** as a travelling entity).

On the other hand, the findings in the HKEJC suggest that static cognitive processes among the Chinese journalists may have influence on the more salient descriptions of the locations and the path in the JOURNEY metaphor. Morris and Peng (1994) point out that the Chinese people possess a culture with a holistic world view, i.e. that a person is a part of nature. Therefore Chinese people tend to focus more on the background and the contextual factors (the locations and the path) rather than the actor or the foregrounded object (the **economy** as a traveller). Research carried out in Nisbett (2005) and Nisbett et al (2000) also explains that the Asians, including the

Chinese, pay relatively more attention to the field (background) as a whole. It is believed that the holistic world view among Chinese people is partly influenced by the Chinese folk belief, Daoism. This belief holds the holistic perspective that human beings are one of the constituent members of the natural universe. Accordingly Chinese speakers adhere to this holistic thinking and tend to be more situation-centred (Chen and Lee 2008, Liu 2009). Moreover the more salient description of locations may also reflect the introverted character of Chinese people. As explained by Yu (1995), the manifestation of the different EMOTION metaphor HAPPINESS IS FLOWER IN THE HEART in the Chinese language is an example of the introverted character among the Chinese people. As they are introverted they tend to keep their emotions 'in their heart' and conceptualize their emotions via static objects. Finally a case study carried out by Morris and Peng (1994) concerning the reports of a murder case in the American and Chinese newspapers may help illustrate the figure-centred and the field-dependent tendency of the two cultures. They observe that the Chinese reporters attributed the reason of the murder to unfavourable social circumstances whereas the American reporters attributed the reasons for the murder to the negative personal traits of the murderer. In a similar vein American and Chinese graduates interviewed in this case study also attributed similar reasons about the

murder as the reporters of these two countries. In short, the figure-centred (dynamic) versus the field-dependent (static) conception among the British and Chinese journalists appears to have influenced the different saliencies of the **economy** as a travelling entity and a journey (including the locations and the path) in the UKGC and HKEJC respectively.

## 5.8 Conclusion

In this Chapter, the conceptualization of the **economy** via the journey metaphor in the two corpora has been explained. In general it has been explained that the UKGC appears to focus more on the figure (economy) whereas the HKEJC tends to describe more about the path and locations. This tendency may have resulted in the dynamic and static processes of these two cultures. In addition more various types of manner verbs can be observed in the UKGC, resulting in the more dynamic and expressive conceptualization of the economy in the UKGC. Relatively, the conceptualization of the economy in the HKEJC tends to be more static. By analyzing the linguistic metaphors realizing the journey metaphor, some culture-specific collocations were observed and the variations in metaphorical extensions of some of the linguistic expressions were explained.

In the next chapter motion metaphors related to the hand and the body in the two corpora will be analyzed in an attempt to explore what aspects of the **economy** can be revealed via these metaphors. Moreover it will also explore what kinds of values and attitudes between these two cultures can be revealed via these metaphors.



## Chapter 6: The *force* of the economy – the conceptualization of economic relationships via the motion metaphors related to the hands and the body

### Introduction

This chapter focuses on the motions involving the hands and the body (see Appendices H and I for the lists of concordance lines). These motion metaphors are analyzed in terms of the *force* schema, realizing the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A FORCE. In short, these motion metaphors help conceptualize the different features of the relationship between the **economy** and other entities. Before discussing the forces that the **economy** possesses, a brief explanation of the *force* schema is given. After the analysis of the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A FORCE, a summary and a discussion of the cultural implications of the conceptualization of the **economy** via these motion metaphors in the two corpora are provided.

### 6.1 The *force* Schema

As cognitive linguistics argues, we constantly experience forces in our daily lives. Johnson (1987) subsumes these physical *forces* into seven main types. They are *compulsion*, *blockage*, *counterforce*, *diversion*, *removal of restraint*, *enablement* and *attraction*. In our daily lives, we may experience being moved by strong wind or a

crowd of people (the *compulsion* force); encounter obstacles blocking our way home (the *blockage* force); involve in fighting or defending ourselves in fights (the *counterforce*); experience a change of direction while rowing a boat due to strong wind (the *diversion* force); remove a big piece of rubbish blocking our way home (the force, *removal of restraint*); move a chair to the corner of a room (the *enablement* force); and be physically attracted to some people (the *attractive* force).

Talmy (2000) termed the *force* schema as ‘force dynamics’ and points out that *force dynamics* is one of the important semantic categories in linguistic study. One of the notable examples of how our language is based on force dynamics was carried out in modal verbs. In terms of the *force* schema (or force dynamics), the root senses of the modal verbs such as ‘must’, ‘may’, ‘might’, ‘can’ and so on are related to our experience of different kinds of physical forces (Talmy 1988, 2000, Johnson 1987). For instance, the modal verb, ‘must’ in the sentence, ‘you must put down your coat’, indicates that the action of moving an object (your coat) is indeed derived from the *compulsion* force. In the sentence ‘you may now leave’, ‘may’ denotes a lack of restraint and is based on the force schema, *removal of restraint*. ‘Can’ focuses on the capability to act and it is based on the *enablement* force schema (as in ‘he can finish the job for you’).

Moreover, Talmy (2000:209) argues that ‘the *force-dynamic system* is a fundamental semantic category that allows us to think and talk about events and relations in the physical domain as well as the epistemic and social domains.’ By analyzing the lexical and grammatical patterns of the speeches given by Bush and Lincoln in terms of the *force* schema, Oakley (2005) observes that the two speeches express two different themes. The *force dynamic* patterns in Bush’s National Security Strategy Report reveal that the world is under a good-versus-evil situation. Therefore war must be prepared to maintain righteousness. In Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address, the *force dynamic* patterns in the sentence reveal a nation for peace and reconciliation and that it is time to forget the civil war.

In my study, by analyzing the motions related to the ‘whole body’, the hands and the upper body in terms of the *force* schema, the features of the relationship between the **economy** and other entities are revealed. That is to say the relationship between the **economy** and other entities is viewed as unavoidably beneficial, competing and conflicting. In the following subsections, how these features of the relationship between the **economy** and other entities via motion metaphors can be revealed in terms of the *force* schema are explained.

## 6.2 The conceptualization of the economy via the motions related to the hands, the upper body and the whole body in the UKGC

Collocations concerning the physical motions performed by the **economy** with the hands and the body are shown in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 Collocations concerning the physical motions related to the hands and the body performed by the **economy** in the UKGC

Features of the relationship between the <b>economy</b> and other entities	Motions describing these features and effects (31 instances in total)
i. beneficial relationship	'push', 'pick up', 'take', 'pull', 'give', 'raised', 'cut'
ii. competing relationship	'shrug off', 'knock', 'despoil', 'raised'
iii. the importance of the <b>economy</b> to other entities	'take', 'turn', 'bring'
iv. economic co-operation	'embrace', 'hand in hand'

As mentioned earlier, these physical motions help conceptualize the performance and the actions of the **economy** in economic processes. In terms of the *force* schema, the features of economic relationships described in these motions can be explained as different kinds of forces (see Table 6.2 for examples). The syntactic structures of these lines indicate that the **economy** is often described in the active voice. In other words, the **economy** is described as actively participating in different kinds of situations, even when the situations are unfavourable.

The following sub-sections discuss the forces generated by these motions and how these motion metaphors help reveal the beneficial, competing and conflicting features of the relationship between the **economy** and other entities.

Table 6.2 Forces generated in the motions related to hands and the upper body in the UKGC

Concordance lines of the motions related to the hands and the upper body	Forces	Effects
4 ... but this jump in prices was caused by <b>the strong world economy</b> , which <u>pushed up demand</u> , rather than by an interruption to supply, as in the oil shock in 1974 and 1979. (UKGC_Jan/06)	enablement	jump in prices
6 Threat of inflation has not yet been curbed as the booming <b>world economy</b> <u>Raised the price of oil and other commodities</u> . (UKGC_Jun/06)	enablement	a raise in the price of oil and other commodities
217 John McCaun, chief executive said a strong <b>Irish economy</b> <u>helped raise advertising revenues</u> there by 16%. (UKGC_Sept/06)	enablement	increased the advertising revenues
69 ... the <b>economy</b> is <u>taking you by the tip of your head and pulling you up</u> . (UKGC_Feb/06)	enablement	a raise of living standard
29 ... the Group of Seven leading <b>economies</b> <u>taking the initiative, cutting their emissions</u> by about half by 2050 ... (UKGC_Sept/06)	enablement and blockage	cutting the emission
136 "In what way does it help the rural <b>economy</b> <u>to give encouragement</u> to county councils to sell smallholdings?". (UKGC_Feb/06)	enablement	sell smallholdings
25 However, the extraordinary transformation of China's and India's <b>economies</b> promises <u>to bring Marx and Engels' prediction to completion</u> . (UKGC_Apr/06)	enablement	to bring the prediction to completion
283... immediate condemnation from green groups, which accused it of prospering from a "carbon <b>economy</b> " that would <u>bring the world close to extinction with global warming</u> . (UKGC_Jan/06)	enablement	the world close to extinction
38 To start with the giant US <b>economy</b> , it is hard not to be impressed how it <u>shrugged off the jump</u> in petrol and other energy prices last year ... (UKGC_Jan/06)	counterforce	shrugged off the jump in prices
204 ... then China is now <b>the world's fourth-largest economy</b> and <u>has pushed Britain into the fifth place</u> . (UKGC_Jan/06)	compulsion	pushed Britain into fifth place
26 Falling shares in miners, a softening oil price and more worries about <b>the US Economy</b> <u>knocked back the FTSE 100</u> for the third session running yesterday. (UKGC_Oct/06)	compulsion	price drop in FTSE 100
46 ... and the consequence has been decades of uncontrolled development – <u>spurred by the success of the Celtic Tiger Economy</u> – which have <u>despoiled</u> some of the island's most beautiful landscapes with rashes of “bungalow blight”... (UKGC_Oct/06)	removal of restraint	destruction of beautiful landscapes
2 ... even weak <b>economies</b> can <u>turn the global market against its creator</u> . (UKGC_Jan/06)	diversion	instability of global market
24 ... and whether the present model for <b>internet economies</b> – which <u>turn</u> many of the economic models we are used to <u>offline on their heads</u> – are viable. (UKGC_Apr/06)	diversion	the abandonment of other models
49 Countries such as India and other booming <b>economies</b> <u>should be embraced</u> by Britain as trading partners as a means to increasing global wealth. (UKGC_Sept/06)	attraction	economic co-operation
27 “social institutions and market <b>economies</b> <u>go hand in hand</u> .” (UKGC_Oct/06)	attraction	economic co-operation

### 6.2.1 The enablement force

#### a. The influence of the economy on other entities

The beneficial effects received by other entities due to good performance by the **economy** are described as the motions related to the hands and the upper body. That is to say when the **economy** of a country is strong, other interrelated sectors in the country are naturally benefitted. For example

69 ... an Argentinian cameraman who has lived in Dubai for the last eight years said[ ... ]the **economy** is taking you by the tip of your head and pulling you up. (UKGC\_Feb/06)

As shown in line 69, the strong **Dubai economy** has led to an improvement of the living standard of the Argentinian cameraman living in Dubai. This beneficial chain effect is delineated as an enablement force generated in the physical motions performed by the **Dubai economy** to physically pull a person upward (as in '*taking the tip of the head*' and '*pulling you up*'). As UP IS GOOD, the Argentinian cameraman being physically pulled up means an improvement of his living standard.

Line 209 below is another example of this kind of beneficial interrelatedness between the **economy** and other entities.

209. John McCaun, chief executive said a strong **Irish economy** helped raise advertising revenues there by 16%. (UKGC\_Sept/06)

In this example, the strong condition of the **Irish economy** has benefitted the ‘advertising revenues’. This beneficial effect is described as a physical motion performed by the **economy** as a living organism (as in ‘raise the advertising revenues’). In terms of the *force* schema, this motion (‘raise’) is an enablement force which has benefitted the advertising revenues. In other words, the strong condition of the **Irish economy** has helped increase the profit of the advertising industry.

On the other hand, the performance of one party can offset the benefit of other parties. This chain effect can be seen in the physical motion of ‘pushing’ things. For instance

4. ... but this jump in prices was caused by the strong **world economy**, which pushed up demand, rather than by an interruption to supply, as in the oil shock in 1974 and 1979. (UKGC\_Jan/06)

In line 4 above, the strong performance of the **world economy** has led to an increase in energy demand. Consequently the oil prices increased. In this example, both the cause (the **economy**) and the affected agent (the oil price) are metaphorized as physical motions. The strong **world economy** as a cause of the increase in energy demand is metaphorized as an *enablement* force via the physical motion, ‘push up things’, resulting in the increase in oil prices. The increase in prices is described in the physical motion ‘jump in prices’. It is worth noting that this ‘jump’ in oil prices

is an exception to the conceptual metaphor UP IS GOOD since the increase in oil prices will damage the stability and the profits of the world economies.

Apart from the above involuntary chain effects in the economic processes, the actions taken by the **economy** to achieve its purposes are also delineated as the enablement force generated via the motions related to the hands. For instance

136 "In what way does it help the **rural economy** to give encouragement to county councils to sell smallholdings?" (UKGC\_Feb/06)

In line 136 above, the purposeful action taken by the **rural economy** to motivate the selling of smallholdings is metaphorized as the physical motion of ‘giving things’ wherein the *enablement* force is generated. As a result the ‘encouragement’, which is delineated as an entity that can be physically ‘given out’, is motivated in order to achieve the purpose of selling smallholdings.

#### b. MENTAL ACTIVITIES AS PHYSICAL MOTIONS

Moreover some of these physical motions (as in ‘pick up’, ‘take’ and ‘bring’) which are delineated as the enablement force are mapped onto the mental level. These motion metaphors help illustrate the conceptual metaphor MENTAL ACTIVITIES AS PHYSICAL MOTIONS. For instance

143. The Bank might raise rates later this year if the **economy** continued to pick up. (UKGC\_May/06)



In line 143 above, the **economy** as a living thing is construed as ‘picking up’ things.

Physically, after bending down to pick up things, the person will restore the upright position. The physical restoration of the upright position is mapped onto a mental level where someone’s health ‘picks up’. In other words, the UP-DOWN schema is involved when the **economy** physically ‘picks up’ is projected as an improvement of the **economy**. However, in another example (see below), the phrase ‘pick up’ is utilized as a physical motion. It is not mapped as physical health.

251. Britain’s manufacturing industry is enjoying its best performance for a decade, supported by strengthening export demand as the **global economy** picks up speed, according to an influential survey of the sector published today. (UKGC\_Jun/06)

In this example the **global economy** is described as having physically picked up an ‘object’ (‘speed’). It means that the **economy** is conceptualized as asserting an *enablement force* to improve itself. It can be seen that different kinds of schemas are involved although the meanings (the improvements of the economy) in both examples are the same. A more detailed explanation of the change of schemas are provided when the phrase ‘pick up’ recurs again (see next section) in the HKEJC.

Indeed the mapping of gestures as states of the **economy** can also be observed in the collocations describing the emotions of the **economy**. For instance

18 ... and/or a weaker currency. Unless the **economy** does perk up, Brown will have ... (UKGC\_Jan/06)

36 ... a megacasino will do more than pep up the **local economy** - particularly since ... (UKGC\_Sept/06)

45 ... have kept up an exodus to the cities and depressed the **local economy** ...

(UKGC\_Aug/06)

In these examples, a happy living organism that usually stands upright is mapped as a strong economy (lines 18 and 36). On the other hand an unhappy living organism that usually has its back bent downward is mapped as a weak **economy** (line 45).

In addition to the mapping of the improvements of the **economy** as the physical motion, 'pick up', it can be observed that the ideas related to 'importance' are illustrated through the physical motion, 'take' (as in 'take over the mantle', 'has taken a back seat' and 'taking the initiative'). For instance

275. **The British economy** should take over the mantle of a "Goldilocks" economy from the US, the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development said yesterday as it sharply revised up its growth forecast for British this year. (UKGC\_Sept/06)

In ancient allegories, an important person in charge usually wore a mantle or a cloak. Thus the person who took over a mantle or a cloak symbolized that they had inherited power. Moreover the term 'Goldilocks economy' comes from the fairy story named 'Goldilocks and The Three Bears'. This term was first utilized to describe the US economy in the mid- to late 1990s which was not too hot or too cold. In other words the US economy during that period sustained a moderate growth without triggering either inflation (too hot) or recession (too cold). When the **British economy** is delineated as '*should take over the mantle of a Goldilocks economy from the US*', it

not only means that an enablement force is applied to ‘take’ an object (the mantle), it also means that the **British economy** is now so strong and important that it can replace the important status of the US economy.

It is observed that the physical motion ‘take’ may co-occur with phrases concerning orientations. The co-occurrence of ‘take’ with these phrases helps illustrate importance (see line 113 below). In line 113 the less important situation of the **economy** when compared to politics is mapped as the physical action, ‘*has taken a back seat to politics*’. In this phrase, the physical action ‘take’ co-occurs with ‘back seat’. Their co-occurrence evokes the mental imagery of the **economy** as a living thing selected to sit behind another living thing, ‘the politics’. In general in a venue, important persons or objects are brought to the centre or the front positions. Therefore the motion ‘*the economy has taken a back seat to politics*’ connotes that the **economy** is less important when compared to the politics.

113. For Brown, the **economy** has taken a back seat to politics for some time and his Treasury has lain dormant as the chancellor has mulled over his strategy for the succession. (UKGC\_Sept/06)

Analogously, if the phrase is re-arranged as ‘the **economy** has taken a front seat to politics’, it means that the **economy** is more important to politics. Finally, it can be

observed that the motion ‘bring’ helps delineate the fulfilment of a prediction or estimation concerning the **economy**. For instance

25 However, the extraordinary transformation of China's and India's **economies** promises to bring Marx and Engels' prediction to completion. (UKGC\_Apr/06)

In line 25 above, the success of the **economies** in the two countries, China and India (Officially, the Republic of India) with huge labour force, is described as an enablement force fulfilling the prediction concerning communism. As mentioned in the example, this prediction was made by Marx and Engels. According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Marx and Engels predicted that the labour force (especially under the reign of communism) would eventually replace capitalism (see Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy for their theory at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/marx/>). The fulfilment of this prediction is delineated as an enablement force in the physical motion ‘to bring Marx and Engels’ prediction to completion’ wherein their prediction resembles a physical object being brought to the destination (as in ‘completion’) by the Chinese and Indian economies.

Line 283 below is another example in which the physical motion related to ‘bring’ also helps describe the fulfilment of a prediction or estimation.

283 ... immediate condemnation from green groups, which accused it of prospering from a "carbon **economy**" that would bring the world close to extinction with global warming. (UKGC\_Jan/06)

In the above example, the expected damage caused by the **carbon economy** is described as something which ‘would bring the world close to extinction with global warming’. Here the **economy** is described as an enablement force that would damage the world through the motion ‘bring’.

#### 6.2.2 The blockage force

In an earlier section, it has been explained that the purposeful actions of the **economy** are enablement forces (as in ‘give encouragement’). In the example below, the purposeful actions of the **economy** can also be a blockage force, generated in the physical motion ‘cut’. For instance

29 ... the Group of Seven leading **economies** taking the initiative, cutting their emissions by about half by 2050 ...  
(UKGC\_Sept/06)

In the above example, the determination of the seven leading **economies** to reduce pollution is described as ‘cutting the emissions’ wherein a blockage force is applied to completely separate the emissions from the environment in order to reduce pollution.

#### 6.2.3 The compulsion force

As shown in the example below, the conflicting effects caused by one party onto another party can be described as a compulsion force. For example

26. Falling shares in miners, a softening oil price and more worries about **the US economy** knocked back the FTSE 100 for the third session running yesterday... (UKGC\_Oct/06)

As shown in the above example, the performance of the **US economy** may cause a negative effect to the 'FTSE 100'. The FTSE 100 is a share index for the 100 most highly capitalized UK company listed on the London Stock Exchange. In other words, the performance of the **US economy** may lead to a drop of the shares prices of the 'FTSE 100'. This negative impact resembles a compelling force brought about in the physical motion of 'knocking back' the 'FTSE 100' as a 'ball'.

Moreover economic competition is also viewed as a compulsion force. In line 204 below, the economic competition between the two economies, China and Britain, is construed as a fight. As a result, the greater development of the **Chinese economy** than the **British economy** resembles a compelling force that 'has pushed' the **British economy** to a lower position in the league, the fifth place.

204 ... then China is now **the world's fourth-largest economy** and has pushed Britain into fifth place. (UKGC\_Jan/06)

#### 6.2.4. The 'removal of restraint' force

The conflicting relationship between the **economy** and other entities can also be delineated as the force, removal of restraint. For instance

46 Planning controls have been comparatively weak, and the consequence has been decades of uncontrolled development – spurred by the success of the **Celtic Tiger Economy** – which have despoiled some of the island’s most beautiful landscapes with rashes of “bungalow blight”, particularly along the coast.

(UKGC\_Oct/06)

In line 46, the successful **Celtic Tiger economy** is described as a destructive ‘rider’ which has damaged the natural environment. As shown in the example, the negative effect caused by the development of the **Celtic Tiger economy** is construed as the force, *removal of restraint*, generated in the physical motion, ‘despoiled’. As a result, some of the beautiful landscapes were destroyed and replaced by ‘bungalow blight’. Moreover, this speedy damage is expressed in the motion ‘spurred’, a motion performed by the rider to speed up the horse.

#### 6.2.5 The diversion force

The conflicting relationship between the **economy** and other entities may cause changes to the surroundings. This change is construed as a diversion force generated in the physical motion, ‘turn’. For instance

2 The action of Gazprom, (Russian gas row reignites nuclear debate, January 2) present the west with three urgent lessons. First, we must respond to the reality that even **weak economies** can turn the global market against its creator.

(UKGC\_Jan/06)

In line 2 above, the change in the global market resulting from the tension between the smaller economies such as Russian, Ukrainian, and the stronger European

economies are described as a diversion force. Indeed news articles released in the year 2006 revealed that Gazprom, the largest world extractor of natural gas, had a dispute over gas prices with the Ukraine and other small countries near Russia in that year. This dispute unexpectedly led to the oil crisis among the European countries and thus caused these stronger countries to consider the possibility of using nuclear energy in order to reduce the impact of the oil crisis. This oil crisis was unexpected as the European and the US economies were used to being important economies influencing the operations of the global market (as in ‘the creator’ of the global market).

Therefore as shown in line 2, the unexpected change caused by the small economies such as the Ukraine to the stability of the global market is described as a diversion force generated in the physical motion, ‘turn’. In other words the bigger economies have lost their power to control the operations of the global market.

Line 24 below is another example illustrating the changes in the surroundings which have resulted from the competing relationship between the **economy** and other entities.

24. ... and whether the present model for **internet economies** – which turn many of the economic models we are used to offline on their heads – are viable (UKGC\_Apr/06)



As explained in the above example, people have changed their minds concerning the preference of different economic models. They have given up using the old models and replaced them with the present model for internet economies. This change in the people's preferences, which is caused by the competition between the present and old models, is described as a diversion force generated in the physical motion, 'turn ... offline on their heads'. Moreover this phrase creates a humorous effect among the readers. The phrase, 'offline on their heads', is taken from the lexical field of information technology and the competition described in this example occurred among internet economies. Indeed this example also illustrates how metaphor helps evoke emotions of the readers as pointed out in Chapter Two.

#### 6.2.6 The counterforce

When the **economy** is in a passive unfavourable position in economic processes, it is described as responding assertively.

229 As such, it would be complacent to assume that the ability, so far, of the **global economy** to shrug off the increase in oil prices since early 2003 means it will continue to do so. (UKGC\_July/06)

As mentioned earlier, 'the increase in oil prices' is harmful to the **global economy**.

In this example, this unfavourable effect is metaphorized as an unpleasant thing or a burden being put onto the body of the **economy**. The effort paid by the **global**

**economy** to defend itself from this negative factor is metaphorized as the *counterforce* applied to ‘shrug off’ unpleasant things.

#### 6.2.7 The attraction force

As well as the beneficial and competing features between the **economy** and other entities, building good economic co-operation is also important. It can be observed that a good economic relationship between the **economy** and other entities is delineated as the physical motions of showing friendship. For instance

49 Countries such as India and other booming **economies** should be embraced by Britain as trading partners as a means to increasing global wealth. (UKGC\_Sept/06)

27 “social institutions and market **economies** go hand in hand.” (UKGC\_Oct/06)

In the two examples above, the two physical motions expressing friendship, that is ‘embrace’ and ‘go hand in hand’ are utilized to describe the close relationship between the **economy** and other entities. In terms of the *force* schema, a good economic relationship is an attraction force which brings the **economy** and other entities together.

Before I turn to the analysis of the motion metaphors in the HKEJC, it is worth noting that the body part ‘muscle’ was observed again in the UKGC. Below is an example taken from the UKGC.

235 The seventh-largest **economy** in the world, the 12th-largest source of greenhouse gas, will put its muscle behind an initiative to fight the effect of climate change. (UKGC\_Aug/06)

As explained in Chapter Four, ‘muscle’ is culture-specific in western culture such that it metaphorizes power and strengths. The concept that ‘muscle’ is ‘strength’ can also be observed in the popular body-building contests in many western countries. In these contests, the competitors are required to exhibit their bulging muscles in front of the judges and audience. Having bulging muscles is one of the important elements to win in these contests. In this example, it is said that the seventh-largest **economy** ‘will put its muscle behind an initiative to fight the effect of climate change’. It means that this economy is confident that it has the power and strength to deal with the problem.

### 6.3 The conceptualization of the economy via the motions related to the hands and the body in the HKEJC

Collocations concerning the physical motions performed with the hands and the body are shown in Table 6.3. When compared to the UKGC, these motion metaphors also help reveal the features in the relationship between the **economy** and other entities. However, it appears that more types of motion metaphors can be observed in the UKGC. In terms of frequency, the collocation ‘unifying into the same body’ (*yi ti hua*, 一体化) is salient among all the collocations in the HKEJC. As will be

explained later, this saliency helps reveal that the theme surrounding ‘a close relationship’ tends to be of more concern in the HKEJC.

Table 6.3 collocations concerning the motions of the hands and body carried out by the **economy** in the HKEJC

Features and effects of the inter-relatedness between the economy and other entities	Collocations describing these features and effects (47 instances in total)
i. competing and conflicting effects (9 instances)	‘ <i>bǎi tuō</i> ’ (摆脱 shrugged off), ‘ <i>bō kāi</i> ’ (拨开 cast away)
ii. economic co-operations (38 instances)	‘ <i>kào lǒng</i> ’ (靠拢 getting very close), ‘ <i>shǒu qiān shǒu</i> ’ (手牵手 hand in hand), ‘ <i>yì tǐ huà</i> ’ (一体化 ‘unifying into the same body)

Similar to the UKGC, these physical motions can also be explained in terms of the *force* schema. Table 6.4 below includes some examples of the *forces* generated in these motions and the effects brought by these motions. In the following subsections, a detailed discussion of how these motions help construe the features of the economic relationship between the **economy** and other entities in the HKEJC is provided.

Table 6.4 Forces generated in the motions related to the hands and the upper body performed by the **economy** in the HKEJC

Concordance lines of upper body-part motions	Forces	Effects
360 ... everybody said the <b>Japanese economy</b> <u>has shrugged off recession</u> ... (人人 都话 日本经济 已 摆脱衰退 ... ) (HKEJC_Jan/06)	counterforce	shrugged off recession
315 ... the <b>Japanese economy</b> has already <u>cast away the clouds and the fog</u> , stepped onto the the ‘all positions’ (comprehensive) road to recovery ... (... 日本经济 已 拨开云雾, 踏上 全方位 复甦 之路 ... ) (HKEJC_Mar/06)	removal of restraints	cast away the clouds and the fog
298 ... the <b>economy</b> and politics always <u>go hand in hand</u> ... (... 经济 与 政治 通常 手牵手 ... ) (HKEJC_Jun/06)	attraction force	economic co-operation
791 ... intentionally <u>get close to the local economy</u> ... (... 刻意 与 内地 经济 靠拢 ... ) (HKEJC_Oct/06)	attraction force	economic co-operation
52 ... because the Hong Kong economy has already unified into the same body with the local economy ... (... 因为 香港 经济 已 和 当地 混为一体 ... ) (HKEJC_Jan/06)	attraction force	economic co-operation

### 6.3.1 The counterforce

Similar to the UKGC, the actions of the **economy** to tackle problems are metaphorized as the physical motion of ‘shrugging off’ unpleasant things and burdens.

For instance,

402 In other words, has the **Japanese economy** shrugged off inflation?

(换言之，日本经济 系咪 真正 摆脱 通缩 ?)

(HKEJC\_Feb/06)

314 ... the **Japanese economy** has shrugged off the trapped situations (predicament) ...

(... 日本经济 摆脱 困境 ...)

(HKEJC\_Mar/06)

In the two examples above, ‘inflation’ and the ‘trapped situations’ are metaphorized as two entities disturbing the **economy** as a living organism. The effort paid by the **economy** to deal with these problems is metaphorized as a *counterforce* to ‘shrug off’ the unpleasant things.

### 6.3.2 The ‘removal of restraint’ force

Efforts paid to overcome difficulties can also be metaphorized as the physical motions of removing the objects. For instance

315 ... the **Japanese economy** has removed the fog and clouds, stepped onto the ‘all positions’

(comprehensive) road to recovery.

(日本经济 已 拨开 云雾，踏上 全方位 复甦 之路。)

(HKEJC\_Mar/06)

In the example above, the progress of the **economy** is described as a journey. On this journey, problems and obstacles obstructing the **Japanese economy** are construed

as fog and clouds. Similar to Chapter Five, this example also helps illustrate that the utilization of the scenery in the metaphors in the HKEJC is quite common. This fog and clouds have blocked the journey (or progress) of the Japanese **economy**. Thus the force, *removal of restraint* is applied to ‘remove’ the fog and the clouds (or obstacles) so that the **Japanese economy** can continue its journey to recovery.

### 6.3.3 The enablement force

The utilization of the physical motion, ‘pick up’, to indicate the state of the **economy** can also be observed in the HKEJC. For example

- 4 In the last two years, the **Hong Kong economy** has picked up the rising track, the interrupted race has restarted ...  
 (过去 两年, 香港 **经济** 重拾 升轨, 中断后 的 竞赛 重新开步 ...)

(HKEJC\_Feb/06)

The **economy** is also described as travelling on a journey (a race) in this example. As shown in this example, the improving **economy** is construed as a living organism physically ‘*picking up*’ an object, ‘*a rising track*’. The metaphorical extension of the physical motion, ‘pick up’ is slightly different between the two corpora. In the UKGC, the physical gesture of restoring an upright position after ‘picking up’ things is mapped as the improvements of the **economy**. However in the HKEJC, it is the motion of picking up the object, ‘*a rising track*’ that has ‘enabled’ the improvements of the

**economy**. In other words it is the ‘enablement’ force that helps explain the improvements.

#### 6.3.4 The attraction force

Similar to the UKGC, the relationship between the **economy** and other entities is also delineated as physical motions expressing a close friendship. For instance,

298 ... the **economy** and the politics always go hand in hand...  
(... 经济 与 政治 通常 手牵手 ...)

(HKEJC\_Jun/06)

791 ... intentionally getting very close to the **Mainland economy** ...  
(... 刻意 与 内地 经济 靠拢 ...)

(HKEJC\_Oct/06)

The two examples above indicate that a good economic relationship resembles human friendship. As in line 791, the intention of developing a very close relationship with **the Mainland economy** is described as ‘getting very close’ (*kào lǒng* 靠拢). The phrase shows a very similar utilization to the word ‘embrace’ in the UKGC. However the phrase ‘getting very close’ (*kào lǒng* 靠拢) does not carry the meaning, ‘hug’, as implied by the word ‘embrace’. This subtle difference suggests that the common practice of expressing friendliness among the people in these two cultures is slightly different although ‘embracing’ each other is formal etiquette .

Moreover motions related to the ‘whole body’ as a body part (‘*yi ti hua*’, 一体化) occur frequently in the HKEJC. Literally the collocation ‘*yi ti hua*’ (一体化) means

‘to unify into the same body’. This collocation helps describe a close economic relationship between different economies as an attraction force. For instance

52 ... because the **Hong Kong economy** has already unified into the same body with the local Economy ...  
(... 因为 **香港经济** 已和 当地 混为一体 ... ) (HKEJC\_Jan/06)

652 ... CEPA has an important function in pushing the unification of the **economy** between the two places  
(Mainland and Hong Kong) ...  
(... CEPA 对 推动 两地经济 一体化 起到了 重要 作用 ... ) (HKEJC\_Jun/06)

767 ... Because the formation and structure of this kind of **district economies** that have unified into the same body  
is mainly pushed and directed by the government ... (HKEJC\_Sept/06)  
(... 因为 这种 **区域经济 共同体** 的 形成 和 建构， 绝大部分 都 要 由 政府 主导 推动 ...)

In the above examples, different **economies** are described as ‘unified into the same body’. The attraction force between the economies is so strong that they cannot be separated from each other. The emphasis of the inseparability of the economies as merging into the same body can be seen in the example below.

79 ... after the economies have unified into the same body, the relationship between Hong Kong and Mainland as partners means they have become inseparable.  
(... 随着 **经济 一体化**， 香港 与 内地 的 伙伴 关系 已 难以 分割 。) (HKEJC\_Jun/06)

As shown in line 79, the two places are described as inseparable after their economies have unified into one main body.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, the use of ‘body’ appears to be metonymic in the HKEJC in a way that it represents the ‘self’. It is believed that a traditional Chinese belief and medical science may have affected the representation of the ‘body’ as ‘self’ (Picone 1986). In this respect, the **economies** sharing the same body means that they



are sharing the same identity and that the economies ‘have lost’ their individual ‘self identity’ as the building of an economic relationship requires them to merge into one big ‘self’. After becoming one big ‘self’, it implies that these **economies** are now taking the same actions and sharing the same responsibilities, decisions, advantages and disadvantages.

Indeed economic relationship is also an important theme in the UKGC. As mentioned in the Pilot Study in Chapter Four, this Chinese term ‘unifying into the same body’ (*yi ti hua*, 一体化) is the Chinese translation of the technical term, ‘economic integration’. However the English term does not relate the body of a living organism to describe close economic co-operation. Instead the English term shows a mechanistic conceptualization.

Moreover in some of the metaphors concerning the ‘unification of the body’, mixed metaphors can be observed. For instance

767 ... Because the formation and building structure of this kind of **district economies** that have unified into the same body is mainly pushed and directed by the government ... (HKEJC\_Sept/06)  
(... 因为这种 区域经济共同体 的 形成和建构，绝大部分都要由政府主导推动 ...)

Line 767 above is an example of a mixed metaphor including BUILDING and ORGANIC metaphors. In this example, the unified **district economies** are described as a living organism inhabiting the same body and also as a building with

its own structure. It appears that the new unified **district economy** possesses the body of a living organism but with the internal structures of a building. Since Conceptual Metaphor Theory is a theory of cross-domain mapping and the source domains LIVING ORGANISM and BUILDING possess different sets of correspondences to the target domain, the ECONOMY, it is difficult to explain this mixed metaphor in terms of this theory. However similar to other mixed metaphors explained in my study, by a blending analysis, it can be understood that the focus of attention in this mixed metaphor is that both a living organism and a building possess internal structures. That is to say a living organism possesses different organs and body parts which are interrelated to maintain the life of a living organism; a building has different parts such as windows, walls, floors and cornerstones which are put together to support the building. These two meaningful elements concerning the body structure and the building structure are fused and put into the blended space and are mapped as the needs of the unified district **economies** to have new structures.

## 6.4 Summary of the findings

### 6.4.1 Similarities of the motions related to the hands and the body

As mentioned in the analysis, both corpora manifest the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A FORCE via the motion metaphors related to the hands, upper body and

the ‘whole body’ as a body part. Through these motion metaphors, features of the relationships between the **economy** and other entities are revealed, that is they are viewed as beneficial to each other while competing and conflicting with each other. In addition the theme concerning economic co-operation can also be observed in both corpora. Both corpora manifest the mapping of good economic co-operation as friendship. In general many of these motions are shared by the two corpora. It is believed that the similarity is based on our shared embodied experience across cultures. For instance we ‘pick up’ things with our hands; we ‘shrug off’ the annoying mosquitoes and flies with our hands and body. These embodied experiences are much alike across cultures and are extended to conceptualize the actions of the **economy** in both corpora. It is also believed that the conceptualization of good economic co-operation as friendship is very likely based on the embodied experience realizing the primary metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH. The affection expressed in holding hands, embracing or getting close to each other may induce warmth, safety, and comfortable feelings in our bodies. This embodied experience has formed the basis of the primary metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH and has been extended in the two corpora to delineate the advantages of economic co-operation.

#### 6.4.2 Differences of the motions related to the hands and the body

##### a. Frequency of these motion metaphors

Despite the above similarities, the two corpora differ in terms of frequency.

Although motion metaphors related to the hands and the body are observed in both corpora, more types of motion verbs can be observed in the UKGC. There are in total 16 types of motion verbs observed in the UKGC (as in ‘take’ ‘push’, ‘pick up’, ‘take’, ‘pull’, ‘give’, ‘raised’, ‘cut’, ‘shrug off’, ‘knock’, ‘despoil’, ‘raised’, ‘take’, ‘turn’ and ‘bring’), as opposed to the four types of motion verbs in the HKEJC (‘*bǎi tuō*’ (摆脱 shrugged off), ‘*bō kāi*’ (拨开 cast away), ‘*kào lǒng*’ (靠拢 getting very close), ‘*shǒu qiān shǒu*’ (手牵手 hand-in-hand) and ‘*yì tǐ huà*’ (一体化 ‘unifying into the same body)). Moreover the motion verbs observed in the UKGC are mainly performed with the hands whereas the ‘whole body’ as a body part is the main metaphor employed in the HKEJC. Since many living organisms use their hands to actively achieve their goals, the more frequent descriptions of the **economy** performing various motion metaphors with the hands help make prominent the assertiveness of the **economy**. This observation is similar to the findings in Chapter Five concerning the dynamic cognitive processes of English journalists. In Chapter Five, when the **economy** was metaphorized as a travelling entity, more manner verbs which focus on

the **economy** (the figure) were observed. On the other hand the ‘*yi ti hua*’ (一体化, ‘unifying into the same body’) metaphor does not describe in detail how this process is actively carried out. In other words, it creates a relatively static picture of different economies becoming ‘one big self’, in contrast to the dynamic mental imageries created by the motion metaphors in the UKGC.

Moreover similar to the descriptions of the **economy** as a travelling entity in the UKGC, the syntactic structures in this chapter also show that the motions of the **economy** are often described in the active voice and other entities are also mentioned in these motions. This kind of description also helps evoke dynamic imageries concerning the interactions between the **economy** and other entities.

#### b. Cultural implications of the conceptualizations of economic relationship in the two corpora

Although the building of economic relationships is important in both corpora, the kind of relationship required in these two cultures varied. It is believed that the family concepts held by these cultures may have revealed and reflected their economic relationships. In the HKEJC, the motion metaphor ‘unifying into the same body’ (*yi ti hua* 一体化) is the major motion metaphor which helps realize the theme ‘economic relationship’ in the HKEJC. This collocation indeed helps reveal the varied requirements concerning economic relationships in the two corpora. Firstly, the

English term for the metaphor ‘unifying into the same body’ (*yi ti hua* 一体化), that is ‘economic integration’ shows a mechanistic conceptualization whereas the Chinese terms show an organic conceptualization. Secondly, this organic metaphor reflects a social relationship which requires a very close, inseparable bonding. This concept concerning a very close economic relationship can also be observed in the metaphor related to ‘mai’ (脉, blood vessel) in the HKEJC. For instance,

509 ... the businesses of many Taiwanese listed companies have already been linked to the same ‘mai’(blood vessel) of the **Mainland economy** ...  
 (...很多 台湾 上市公司 业务 已跟 内地经济 一脉相连 ...)  
 (HKEJC\_Jun/06)

As shown in line 509, the phrase ‘linking into the same blood vessel (*mai*)’ (*yi mai xiang tong*, 一脉相通) is a Chinese idiom. With this idiom, Taiwanese listed companies and the **Mainland economy** are described as sharing the same life as they are sharing the same blood vessel (‘*mai*’). In other words, as they are sharing the same life, they are inseparable.

Although a close economic relationship is also described in the UKGC, it does not require a bonding that is as close as the one described in the HKEJC. For instance

20 ... Our **economies** are inextricably interlinked ...  
 (UKGC\_Aug/06)

4 ... the more Mr Chavez denounces the States, which he calls an empire run by a devil, the closer the countries’ two **economies** become ...  
 (UKGC\_Nov/06)

56 ... appeared to be ignoring the problems in China so that he could concentrate on **economic ties**.  
 (UKGC\_Apr/06)

105 The EU and India became “strategic patterns” in June 2004 and have set up a high-level trade group to increase **economic ties**.  
 (UKGC\_Oct/06)

In the above examples, a close relationship is described as ‘interlink’, ‘closer’ and ‘economic ties’. These collocations reveal some differences from the relationship described in the HKEJC. These collocations are not derived from the body parts or organs of living organisms nor do they entail a relationship which is inseparable. In contrast to the ‘collective self’ of the **economy** in the HKEJC when they unify with other entities, the **economy** in the UKGC can maintain its ‘individual self’ even when they build a very close relationship with other economies.

As mentioned earlier, these differences may help reveal slight differences in the ways in which families are conceptualised in these two cultures. When we look more closely at two of the above citations, we can see how the ways in which the family is conceptualised in British society may have influenced descriptions of the close relationship between the **economy** and other entities.

56 ... appeared to be ignoring the problems in China so that he could concentrate on **economic ties**.

(UKGC\_Apr/06)

105 The EU and India became “strategic patterns” in June 2004 and have set up a high-level trade

group to increase **economic ties**.

(UKGC\_Oct/06)

In these two citations, a close economic relationship is described as ‘ties’. In the English language, the word ‘tie’ is frequently used to describe family bonding among family members, as in ‘family ties’ and ‘a knot in a tie’. These phrases produce imageries of objects being ‘tied’ together. It implies that they can be ‘untied’. As

the imageries in these phrases suggest, in British society ‘these ties’ do not require the family members to lose their own individual self. They can maintain a certain level of freedom when they are ‘tied’ to family responsibilities.

In the HKEJC, the idea that economic relationships contain inseparable bonds reveals the influence of the ways in which families are conceptualised in Chinese society. It is believed that Confucianism has influenced the concept of family building (Chen and Lee 2008). According to Confucianism, there are five traditional formal relationships, known as *wu-lun* (‘the five relationships’, 五倫). They are ‘prince-subject’, ‘father-son’, ‘older brother-younger-brother’, ‘husband-wife’ and ‘friend- friend’. It can be seen from these five types of relationships, that three of the five relationships are related to family relationships (See also Yao 2000, Liu 2009, Amber and Witzel 2000 for more details). In ancient China, each individual (at least every male individual!) needed to adhere to these five types of relationships. This means that the family, instead of the individual, is the basic unit in Chinese society.

As some literature concerning Chinese business culture points out, the building of economic relationships among Chinese businesses resembles relationship building in a traditional Chinese family. As mentioned earlier, in a traditional Chinese family, the family is the basic unit of society. This means that the individual self of each



member is hidden as they are working for the good and honour of their families. As Tung (1994:488) also mentions, the 'self' in Chinese culture is 'primarily social and interpersonal'. This means that the 'self' that is valued in the traditional Chinese family is a 'collective self' and not an 'individual self'. This concept appears to be reflected in the collocations describing an 'inseparable' relationship built among the economies in the HKEJC. In Chapter Seven, in the discussion of the metaphorical extensions related to 'breathing', the same idea that relationship is 'inseparable' emerges again.

In short these differences reflect the sorts of differences in the cultural models associated with the two cultures (Shore 1996) which we saw in Chapter One. In Chapter One, it was explained that marriage involves sharing and mutual responsibility in English speaking countries. In this section, different cultural models concerning the concept of 'separability' in the family relationships (including marriage) between these two cultures have been further explained. Moreover as Shore argues (1996), these differences belong to highly structured scripts which are hard to explain in terms of embodied cognition. In other words as explained in Chapter One, it is believed that these cultural models are learnt via social experience.

c. Metaphorical extensions of the ‘body’ and the phrase ‘pick up’

Other differences between the two corpora can be observed in the metaphorical extensions of the word ‘body’ and the phrase ‘pick up’. Firstly, summarizing the metaphorical extension of ‘body’ in this chapter and the previous chapter (as in the various kinds of bodily movements of the **economy** as a travelling entity), in the UKGC, it can be seen that the utilization of the ‘body’ is mainly motion-oriented. Through these bodily movements, the progress, problems, attitudes and actions of the **economy** and the features of an economic relationship were construed (see Chapter Five for details). In the HKEJC, the utilization of the body can also be seen via the bodily movements although they are not as frequent as in the UKGC. These bodily movements not only help conceptualize the progress and problems of the economy, but they also help reveal the importance, attitudes and predictions of the economy (see Chapter Five for details). In addition the ‘body’ is metaphorically extended as the ‘self’, realizing the conceptual metaphor SELF AS BODY. As mentioned earlier, it is believed that the mapping of ‘self’ as ‘body’ in the HKEJC is derived from traditional Chinese belief. Indeed the *Analects*, an important classic written by Confucius which recorded the central beliefs of the great thinkers and teachers in ancient China, also mentioned the concept ‘self’ as ‘body’. Below is one of the citations taken from

the *Book of Rites* (*Lǐjì* 禮記 see the citation below). It can be seen that the cultivation of the ‘self’ equals the cultivation of the ‘body’ since ancient China’s time.

“cultivate your body; then you can manage your family; and you can also manage the country and the world will be at peace.”

「身修而后家齐，家齐而后国治，国治而后天下平」

(accessed on <http://www.confucius2000.com/daxue.htm>)

In the HKEJC, the ‘body’ metaphor mainly helps to map a close relationship as ‘unifying into the same body’. In sum the metaphorical extensions of the ‘body’ in the HKEJC tend to be ‘sociocultural’ which produce static mental imageries of the **economy**. An investigation of the lemma ‘body’ in the Bank of English helps confirm that sociocultural metaphorical extensions are not common in the UKGC. The examples taken from the Bank of English indicate that there are three senses associated with the lemma ‘body’: i) it literally refers to the physical body that includes the different body parts; ii) it refers to the whole organization; and iii) it is used as an adjective to refer to quantity. As the examples below indicate, these senses do not relate the unification of the body of a living thing as the merging of ‘self’ or the building of a ‘very close’ relationship.

### Referring to the physical body:

to travel to France to escort her **body** home. <subh> Ordeal </subh> Sue says  
Sgt William Keaveney said that her **body** was found at 7.30am. At 12.20pm  
federal authorities found about 40 **bodies** in the wreckage of the Branch

### Referring to an organisation:

imposed by football's governing **body** yesterday, for allegedly taking an  
committee with a new ruling **body** to supervise Burundi's planned  
international pressure from Church **bodies**, charities and the entertainment

### Referring to quantity:

studies. It could also serve a large **body** of students throughout South Africa  
Memories of a senior gunner <p> To a **body** of men he is remembered as  
(Examples taken from BoE)

Secondly, different image schemas are involved in the two metaphorical extensions of the phrase, 'pick up' although both extensions help conceive of the improvements in the **economy**. When the metaphorical extension of this phrase means an improvement of health, the focus is the upright gesture after 'picking up' wherein the *UP-DOWN schema* is involved. On the other hand the image schema involved in this phrase is the *enablement force* when this phrase actually described the physical action of 'picking up things'. That is to say two kinds of image schemas are involved in the metaphorical extensions of the phrase 'pick up' although both extensions refer to the 'improvement' of the **economy**. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the metaphorical extensions of the motion related to 'standing' also involve a change in image schemas. The metaphorical extensions of the word related to 'standing' focus on the 'balance'

and ‘imbalance’ of the body in the UKGC and HKEJC respectively. In other words a change of meaning involves a change of focus within the BALANCE schema. In short, syntactically, Deignan (1999) explains that metaphorical extension of certain literal words can be observed by investigating the lexico-grammatical fixedness of the figurative expressions. On top of this, at the cognitive level, the metaphorical extensions of the motion related to ‘standing’ (Chapter Five) and ‘picking up’ (in this chapter) suggest that different metaphorical extensions of the same motions may involve either a change in focus within the schema or a change of schema.

## 6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the motions of the **economy** in relation to the hands and the body have been discussed. Relatively, the descriptions of the motion metaphors in relation to the hands are more frequent and thus more expressive in the UKGC. In terms of the *force* schema, the relationship between the **economy** and other entities is seen as being indispensably beneficial, although they compete with each other. Cultural differences revealed in these metaphors have also been discussed. It was observed that ‘the body’ is seen as ‘the self identity’ among the Chinese people. Moreover cultural models concerning family relationships within the two cultures may have influenced the ways in which economic relationships are talked about. This example

helps demonstrate that embodied experience and cultural models are both important meaning constructions. This example supports the idea that some cultural models need to be learnt from the social environment instead of being derived from embodied cognition (as explained in Chapter One). Finally, on a cognitive level, mixed metaphors which help demonstrate the dynamic nature of meaning construction processes recur in these two types of metaphor again. It has also been suggested that metaphorical extension can be studied at a cognitive level in addition to a syntactic level.

Indeed the varied metaphorical extensions of ‘body’ and ‘pick up’ in these two corpora help illustrate how different issues can be made salient in the processes of metaphorical extension. In the next chapter, metaphorical extensions of the motions related to the mouth and the breathing organs will be discussed. It will be explained in more detail how the selection of elements for metaphorical extensions helps make prominent different aspects concerning the theme ‘relationship building’. Cultural influences reflected in the motions related to the mouth and the breathing organs will also be explored.

## Chapter 7: Metaphorical extensions of the motions related to the mouth and the breathing organs

### Introduction

This chapter focuses on the motions related to the mouth and the breathing organs.

To begin with, the motions related to the breathing organs are discussed. In general these motions are metaphorically extended in both corpora to express the problems of the **economy** and their solutions in economic processes. In addition it can also be observed that the breathing metaphor in the HKEJC focuses more on the economic relationship whereas the UKGC gives more descriptions concerning the solutions to the problems of the economy. It is concluded that different themes can be made prominent in these two corpora by selecting different elements for metaphorical extensions in the same metaphor.

The second part of this chapter focuses on the motions related to the mouth, including eating and drinking, humming and speaking. These four kinds of metaphor can be observed in the UKGC whereas only the former two were found in the HKEJC.

With the metaphors related to eating and drinking in the UKGC, the weak **economy** is conceived as a dependent and vulnerable baby while the humming and speaking metaphors help conceive of the states of the **economy**. On the other hand the eating

and drinking metaphors in the HKEJC help illustrate the problems of the **economy**.

Moreover in some of these motion metaphors in both corpora, the culture-specific background which helps understand the metaphors can be observed. These metaphors draw our attention to the important cultural awareness in understanding metaphors.

### 7.1 Motions related to breathing in the UKGC

As mentioned in the introduction, the breathing metaphors help delineate the problems of the **economy** and their solutions. In the following subsections, the ways by which the problems of the **economy** and their solutions are conceptualized in the UK corpus are discussed.

#### 7.1.1 ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES ARE BREATHING PROBLEMS

It can be observed that motions related to breathing are metaphorically extended to describe the problems in economic processes and their solutions in both corpora. However in the UKGC, the causes tend to be conceived as enemies strangling other living organisms while the solutions are conceived as helpers and rescuers. For example



217 We argue there is also a longer-term opportunity cost - stifling a dynamic new **knowledge economy**.  
(UKGC\_Jun/06)

59 Instead the **economy** was slowly strangled by overdependence on one exploitable resource which created  
production bottlenecks, inefficiency, corruption and mismanagement ... (UKGC\_Nov/06)

As seen from the above examples, the two **economies** are delineated as living organisms and the two problems which are depicted as enemies are the ‘longer-term opportunity cost’ and ‘overdependence on one exploitable resource’. These two problems which have obstructed the progress of the two **economies** are conceived as ‘stifling’ and ‘strangling’ the **economy**. As a result the **economies** are injured and are unable to carry out their functions. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the description that both agents are mentioned in the same sentence help make the conceptualization of the **economy** more expressive. In terms of the *force* schema, the ‘suffocating’ problems have created a blockage force obstructing the operations of the **economy**.

Moreover line 59 contains a mixed metaphor wherein the **economy** turns into a living organism possessing both the ‘animate’ breathing organs and an ‘inanimate’ body part (‘a bottleneck’) after being ‘strangled’ by the enemy. As described in line 59, ‘the overdependence on one exploitable resource’ is a problem damaging the **economy**. This problem is construed as an enemy ‘strangling’ the neck of the **economy**. When a living organism is being ‘strangled’, other body parts and organs of the **economy**

may also be affected or damaged due to the lack of oxygen. Similarly when the economy is being ‘strangled’, the production sector, which is a major part (body part) of an economy, turns into a ‘bottleneck’, an inanimate body part (as in ‘production bottleneck’) when the **economy** is attacked by the problem.

In Chapter Six, it was explained that the focus of attention of mixed metaphors can be observed by studying the meanings shared by the metaphors in the sentence. In this example, the focus of attention of the mixed metaphor lies in the similar imageries produced in the literal meanings of the two metaphorical expressions. That is the neck of the **economy** becomes narrowed when it is strangled; and the neck of a bottle is narrower than the other part of the bottle. In both of these cases, only limited air and liquid can flow through the narrowed parts. Indeed the word ‘bottleneck’ is a common economic term carrying a negative connotation. It refers to a limited production in an economy. By a blending analysis, the imageries that only limited air and liquid can flow through the narrowed part of the neck and the bottle are fused in the ‘blended’ space, creating a living organism (the **economy**) with both ‘animate’ and ‘inanimate’ organs. This new blended information helps construe of the limitations done to both the **economy** and thus the production sector when the **economy** is over-dependent on one exploitable resource.

### 7.1.2 HELPING THE ECONOMY IS RESUSCITATING A LIVING ORGANISM in UKGC

As problems are mapped as suffocation, the methods used to solve the problems are naturally conceived as resuscitating a living organism. In the UKGC, three levels of resuscitation method corresponding to the seriousness of the problems can be observed. For example

142 We have called on the government to impose restrictions on Bulgarians and Romanians. A cabinet decision to provide a "breathing space" for the **economy** after the arrival of Poles and migrants from other new EU countries in the last 18 months is expected in the next two months. (UKGC\_Sept/06)

In line 142 above, the **economy** is exhausted in helping the influx of Bulgarians and Romanians. This problem resembles a blockage to breathing when a living organism takes part in vigorous activities. In this kind of vigorous situation, the exhausted living organism needs a 'breathing space'. In a similar vein, the exhausted **economy** needs a 'breathing space' so that it can recover and readjust itself to its normal functions. As described in line 142, the solution, a 'breathing space', is to impose restrictions on the entry of immigrants so that the **economy** can release itself from the stress of the influx and be able to restore its normal function.

When the problem is more serious, the **economy** may need external help to improve its situation. For instance

14 It had left rates at 2% for the previous two and a half years in an attempt to breathe life into the **economies** of the eurozone, particularly Germany. (UKGC\_Jun/06)

In the above example, the policy of ‘freezing the rates at 2% for the previous two and a half years’ in order to boost the **economies** of the European countries is delineated as ‘breath[ing] life’ into these **economies**. In this metaphor, the implementation of the policy suggests that the **economies** were not performing to their full potential. Therefore the policy is implemented to enhance the **economies**. This solution is described as the oxygen ‘breathed’ into the weak **economies** in order to revive their energy levels.

In critical situations, a very weak **economy** is mapped as a nearly breathless living organism. In these situations, the emergency procedure implemented to help the **economy** immediately is mapped as the utilization of *the kiss of life* to help resuscitate a breathless living organism.

8 ... **Southern economies** need the kiss of life that science and technology can give them. (UKGC\_May/06)

In this example, the method, which can help the **Southern economies**, is the implementation of ‘science and technology’. They are conceived as ‘the kiss of life’ applied to a dying organism.

## 7.2 Motions related to breathing in the HKEJC

Likewise problems occurring in the economic processes and their solutions are also conceptualized as breathing problems and resuscitation of a living organism in the HKEJC. However the conceptualization of the solution as resuscitation is not common in the HKEJC. Instead the motions related to breathing tend to conceptualize the close relationship between the **economy** and the entities in the economic processes. These three kinds of metaphorical extensions related to breathing in the HKEJC are discussed below.

### 7.2.1 ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES ARE BREATHING PROBLEMS in HKEJC

Similar to the UKGC, difficulties of the **economy** are conceptualized as breathing problems in the HKEJC. For instance,

338 ... the competition from China has already made the Italian **economy** unable to breathe ...

(... 嚟自 中国 嘅 竞争 早 令 意大利经济 透唔到氣)

(HKEJC\_Apr/06)

As described in the example above, the **Italian economy** is under the threat of an enemy, Chinese competition. The difficulties of the **Italian economy** caused by this threat are described as a person who ‘*cannot breathe*’ (‘透唔到氣’). Although both corpora tend to describe the causes leading to the problems of the **economy** as

enemies, it appears that the UKGC describes the damages in a more expressive way with the use of action verbs (as in ‘stifle’ and ‘strangle’). In contrast the verb ‘has made’ (*lǐng* 令) is utilized to describe how ‘Chinese competition’ has damaged the **Italian economy**. The verb ‘made’ does not describe explicitly how the **Italian economy** is negatively affected. It only expresses vaguely that there is pressure exerted upon the **Italian economy**. Therefore the mental imagery of how the **Italian economy** is damaged is rather static.

In other concordance lines, the vulnerable situation of the **economy** is described as

‘with its last breath’ (*yǎn yǎn yī xī* 奄奄一息). For instance

82 ... the **Hong Kong economy** will not ‘breathe its last breath’ due to this reason ...  
(... 香港经济 亦 不会 因此 奄奄一息 ...)(HKEJC\_Jan/06)

32 ... the **Hong Kong economy** is ‘breathe its last breath’. It has a periodical economic problem, and also the problem of ineffective management ...  
(...香港经济 奄奄一息，它 既有 经济周期性 问题，也有 管治无方 问题...)(HKEJC\_Feb/06)

In these two examples, the vulnerable **economy** is described as ‘breathes with its last breath’ (*yǎn yǎn yī xī* 奄奄一息). According to the *Chinese Contemporary Dictionary*, this phrase refers to the very weak or dying condition of a living organism. Unlike the UKGC, these two examples do not describe the causes of its dying situation as the enemies harming the **economy**. The imagery in this collocation merely focuses on the dying **economy** with faint breath. Therefore similar to the

above example, the delineation of the problems of the **economy** in the HKEJC appears to be less expressive when compared to the UKGC.

#### 7.2.2 HELPING THE ECONOMY IS RESUSCITATING A LIVING ORGANISM

Similar to the UKGC, helping the **economy** is also conceptualized as providing enough time for it to breathe. For instance

4 ... in these two years, the Hong Kong **economy** finished gasping and rose again ...  
(... 香港经济 近两年 喘定 回升 ...)

(HKEJC\_Nov/06)

34 The Hong Kong **economy** can now gasp since it started sliding downhill in 1997 ...  
(香港经济 已从 九七后 的 不断 滑坡 得到 喘息 ...)

(HKEJC\_Jul/06)

In these two examples, the exhausted **economy** which has gone through a difficult time is described as ‘finished gasping’ and ‘gasp’ (*chuǎn dìng/ chuǎn xī* 喘定/喘息) in lines 4 and 34 respectively. The two collocations refer to the **economy** as taking a short rest in difficult times. The methods of helping the **economy** described in these two collocations are similar to providing a ‘breathing space’ for the **economy** in the UKGC. Moreover, line 4 manifests a mixed metaphor because the **Hong Kong economy** appears to be both a living organism and an anonymous object in the expressions ‘finished gasping’ and ‘rose again’ respectively. Although it is unlikely for the **economy** to possess this kind of ‘dual identity’ in authentic situations, by conducting a blending analysis, it can be revealed that this mixed metaphor focuses on

the similar figurative meanings in these two expressions. The expression ‘finished gasping’ focuses on the restoration of the energy of a living organism. The phrase ‘rose again’ focuses on the ability of an anonymous object to rise again after it has fallen to a low position. As UP IS GOOD, a rising object suggests that the object is improving. In other words the figurative meanings in these two metaphors are related to the ideas concerning improvement. This salient meaning is selected and blended to conceptualize the reviving **Hong Kong economy**.

Although providing a ‘breathing space’ is described in both corpora as a method the **economy** used to readjust itself to its normal function, the other two resuscitation methods as described in the UKGC cannot be observed in the HKEJC. Instead motions related to breathing appear to be more frequently associated with the theme, ‘relationship’. In the following subsection, the metaphorical extension of breathing in relation to building a close relationship in the HKEJC is discussed.

### 7.2.3 A CLOSE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IS BREATHING

In the HKEJC, the phrase ‘every breath is closely connected to the next’ (*xi xi xiang guan* 息息相關) can be observed. For instance

48 ... Hong Kong is the centre of shipping industry, the shipping industry and the **Hong Kong economy** is (like) ‘every breath is closely connected to the next’ ...  
 (... 香港 是 航运 中心, 航运业 与 香港经济 息息相关 ...)



- 687 ... The Hong Kong **economy** and **Pearl River Delta economy** is (like) ‘every breath is closely connected to the next’ ...  
(香港 与 珠三角 经济 是 息息相关 的...) (HKEJC\_Mar/06)
- 380 ... The ‘running posture’ of mainland’s interest rate, the direction of cash flow, and the **Hong Kong economy** is (like) ‘every breath is closely connected to the next’ ...  
(... 内地 息口 走势，与 资金 流向，跟 本港经济 息息相关 ...) (HKEJC\_Jul/06)
- 334 ... The development of the **Mainland economy** and Hong Kong is (like) ‘every breath is closely connected to the next’  
(... 内地 的 经济 发展 与 香港 息息相关 ...) (HKEJC\_Sept/06)

In the above examples, the relationship of the **economies** with other entities, such as the relationship between the Hong Kong and the Pearl River Delta **economies** (line 687) and the relationship between the Mainland and Hong Kong **economies** (line 334), is described as ‘every breath is closely connected to the next’ (*xi xi xiang guan* 息息相關). Literally *xi* (息) means ‘breathing’ and *xi xi* (息息) means ‘the continuity where one breath follows the next’. As explained in the *Chinese Contemporary Dictionary* (*Xian Dai Hanyu Cidian* 2008), the phrase ‘*xi xi xiang guan*’ (息息相關) emphasizes the close link of every breath with the next one. If we cannot feel the continuity of the breath of a person, it may suggest that the person is either dead or in a serious condition. Analogously when the relationship of the Hong Kong **economy** with other entities is described as ‘every breath is closely connected to the next’ (*xi xi xiang guan* 息息相關), it suggests that their relationship is inseparable.

The performance of one entity affects and reflects the performance of the other entities.

Seemingly the utilization of the phrases ‘a breathing space’, ‘finished gasping’ (*chuǎn dìng* 喘定), ‘gasp’ (*chuǎn xī* 喘息) and ‘every breath is closely connected to the next’ (*xī xī xiāng guān* 息息相關) appear to be similar. All of them are the metaphorical extensions of the motions related to breathing. However different elements are selected for metaphorical extension in these phrases. In the collocations ‘a breathing space’, ‘finished gasping’ (*chuǎn dìng* 喘定) and ‘gasp’ (*chuǎn xī* 喘息), the element concerning breathing that is selected for metaphorical extension is the *rest* we obtain when we breathe or gasp. This element is selected to illustrate the helping method, that is to provide the **economy** the time to rest between two activities. However in the HKEJC, in the phrase ‘every breath is closely connected to the next’ (*xī xī xiāng guān* 息息相關), the saliency is the *inseparability* between one breath and the next. This saliency helps conceive of the close relationship of the **economy** with other entities.

### 7.3 A summary of the motions related to breathing in both corpora

The metaphorical extensions of the motions related to breathing are summarized in Diagrams 7.1a and 7.1b.

Diagram 7.1a The metaphorical extensions of motions related to ‘breathing’ in the UKGC

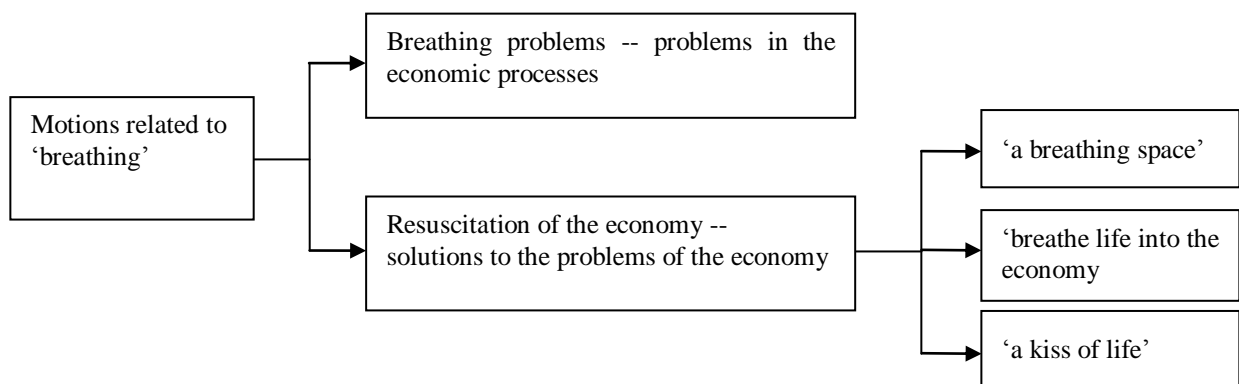
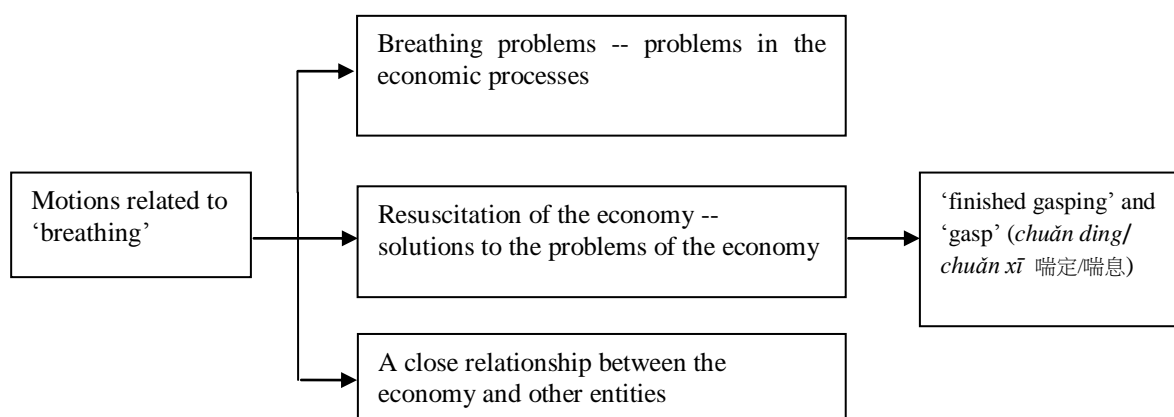


Diagram 7.1b The metaphorical extensions of motions related to ‘breathing’ in the HKEJC



As discussed in the analysis, both corpora tend to describe the problems of the **economy** and their solutions as breathing problems and resuscitations respectively.

By looking at the syntactic structures of the metaphors in the two corpora, it can be observed that the causes leading to the problems are conceived as enemies ‘strangling’ the **economy** in the UKGC whereas the causes tend to be omitted in the HKEJC.

Moreover a relatively static verb ‘made’ is employed instead of ‘strangle’ or ‘stifle’ in the HKEJC in order to delineate the harm done to the **economy**. Accordingly similar to the findings in the previous chapters, more dynamic mental imageries concerning the **economy** are produced in the UKGC.

Moreover on a cognitive level, the variations in the metaphorical extension of ‘breathing’ help demonstrate how different aspects of the **economy** can be made prominent by selecting different elements of the same words or motions in the process of metaphorical extension. The analysis indicates that the conceptualization of HELPING THE ECONOMY IS RESUSCITATION is more common in the UKGC. In other words in the metaphorical extensions of breathing, it can be seen that ‘finding solutions for the problem of the **economy**’ is a more salient topic in the UKGC. The saliency of problem-solving in the UKGC may suggest the influence of scientific-ness in the western economic model (please refer to Chapter Three).

On the other hand the motions related to breathing tend to focus on the theme related to ‘a close relationship’ in the HKEJC. Indeed the theme related to building a close relationship in the HKEJC was also discussed in the previous chapter. It appears that this theme is salient in this corpus. This saliency reflects the focus of attention of the journalists and a feature in Chinese business culture. Research concerning the Chinese business culture also supports the importance of building a close relationship in Chinese businesses (Gibson 2002, Zhu 2005, Luo 2000). In the book *Guanxi and Business*, Luo (2000) explains the importance of *guanxiology* (‘the art of relationship building’) in Chinese business culture. As he (2000:4) puts it

“It (guanxiology) appears in economic transactions; political and social relationship; literature; newspapers, academic journals, theatre, and film; and in both popular and official discourse.”

As explained in Chapter Six and this chapter, the main feature of a close economic relationship in the Chinese context is the inseparability of the relationship between the **economy** and other entities. As mentioned in Chapter Six, this requirement is rooted in the family concept among Chinese people. Pragmatically the family concept concerning the close relationship among family members is in turn employed by journalists in metaphors to help consolidate and persuade the reader about the importance of building a very close economic relationship. As Slobin (2004) argues,

our thinking is shaped by our speaking and writing processes (‘thinking for speaking’ and ‘thinking for writing’).

#### 7.4 Motions related to the mouth in the UKGC

In the UKGC, the motions related to the mouth include the consumption of food and drink, and humming and speaking. These motions help delineate the situations of the **economy**, such as its needs for external support and its strength and difficulties in the economic processes.

##### 7.4.1 Motions related to eating and drinking

In the motions related to eating and drinking, the **economy** may either be the food being consumed or the living organism which is eating and drinking. In the example below, the **economy** which was damaged in the Gulf War is described as food being consumed by the war.

62 ... But the best satire is born from outrage: with war in the Gulf eating up the economy ... (HKEJC\_Jul/06)

However the **economy** is more frequently described as a living organism that needs to eat and drink. For example

176 The single greatest Chinese interest in Africa is oil. **China’s economy** is thirsty; by 2030 it will need to import 60% of its oil. (HKEJC\_Mar/06)

298 ... easing sectarian strife and rescuing **the oil-rich country's economy**, which has been starved of foreign investment. (HKEJC\_Apr/06)

241 ... sealing access to Russia's huge reserves for the fuel-hungry economy. (UKGC\_Jun/06)

As shown in the above examples, words such as 'thirsty', 'starved of' and 'hungry' help delineate the needs of the **economy** for external support, such as 'oil', 'fuel' and 'foreign investment', as the physical needs of a living organism for food and drink.

In this respect, difficulties occurring in economic processes are mapped as indigestible food. For example

332 ... this influx, mostly of young people anxious to support themselves by work, has by no means proved indigestible to **Britain's economy** or social services ... (UKGC\_Aug/06)

Line 332 is indeed a mixed metaphor that the influx, i.e. the influx of young people arriving at a destination, suddenly turns into a kind of digestible food for the **economy** or social services. The focus of this mixed metaphor lies in the similar problems created by an indigestible food and the influx of young people for the stomach and Britain's economy respectively. In other words, an indigestible food creates overloading pressure on the stomach and the influx of people may create overloading pressure on **Britain's economy** or social services. When we have consumed some indigestible food, the stomach is unable to store and digest other incoming food. Similarly it is difficult for the **economy** or social services to find or create enough job opportunities for all these young people in a limited time.

In addition words describing economic development as the development of a young child can be observed. For instance

228 ... argues the two roles should be separated in the interests of nurturing a **knowledge economy**.

(UKGC\_May/06)

205 ... Margaret Hodge, the e-minister, is charged with **nurturing** the knowledge economy...

(UKGC\_Oct/06)

184 ... the current charismatic president, has fostered **an economic boom** that has seen the economy growing at 5% ...

(UKGC\_Jan/06)

In the above examples, economic development is described by the words ‘nurturing’ and ‘has fostered’. These words usually refer to the process of providing food and care for a child to grow healthily. It is a process that involves the child growing healthily. In these examples, the ideas of how to maintain the well-being and the growth in children are applied as the development of the **economy**. In other words the **economy** also needs external support and care in order to develop healthily.

Moreover an ultimate goal of ‘nurturing’ a child is to enable the child to become an independent adult. It is a natural outcome of growth although an adult still needs to rely on others to provide food and drink for their basic needs. Likewise the ability to manifest a certain level of independence is a positive sign of a growing or developing economy although it still needs to rely on external support. In this respect, when the **economy** is delineated as behaving like a living organism at a very young age, most



probably a baby, the situations surrounding the **economy** appear to be undesirable.

For instance

9 ... Sweden is to take the biggest energy step of **any advanced western economy** by trying to wean itself off oil completely within 15 years ... (UKGC\_Feb/06)

313 ... both football and racing are deeply secretive. Each feeds the **black economy** on a grand scale ...

293... as speculative investors have added to strong demand from the rapidly growing Chinese **economy**, which is sucking in raw materials at an unprecedented rate to feed its growing industrial base. (UKGC\_May/06)

43 ... and slowly and painfully **the Turkish economy** was nursed back towards stability. (UKGC\_Nov/06)

In the above examples, the verbs ‘wean’, ‘feed’ and ‘nursed back’ conceive of the **economy** as a baby which cannot take care of itself. The baby needs to depend on external help and care. In line 9, the dependence of the Swedish **economy** on oil is described as a baby relying on milk. As the co-text following line 9 explains (see below), this overdependence will disadvantage the climate and the Swedish **economy**.

9 ... Sweden is to take the biggest energy step of **any advanced western economy** by trying to wean itself off oil completely within 15 years ... the intention ... is to replace all fossil fuels with renewable before climate change destroy economies and growing oil scarcity leads to huge new price rises. (UKGC\_Feb/06)

As the Swedish **economy** is described as an ‘advanced’ economy, similar to a growing child who can be ‘wean[ed] off milk’ and can ‘consume other solid food’, it means that this ‘well-developed’ **economy** should be able to be independent. That is to say it should be capable of exploring other resources to replace oil in order to avoid being financially and environmentally disadvantaged.

In lines 313 and 293 where the verb ‘feed’ is used to describe the **economy** as a baby, the **economy** is either related to or disturbed by illegal economic activities.

313 ... both football and racing are deeply secretive. Each feeds the **black economy** on a grand scale ...

293... as speculative investors have added to strong demand from the rapidly growing Chinese **economy**, which is sucking in raw materials at an unprecedented rate to feed its growing industrial base. (UKGC\_May/06)

In line 313, although the profits gained from football and racing can ‘feed’ the **economy**, this **economy** is described as a ‘**black economy**’. Indeed the term ‘black economy’ is a common economic term referring to illegal economic activities. In line 293, it seems that the industrial base of the **economy** is growing rapidly and thus needs to import more resources to expand the industrial sector (as in ‘sucking in resources’ and ‘to feed its growing industrial base’). However as described in line 293, the rapid growth of the industrial sector is created by speculative investors. This implies that the growth may only be an abnormal expansion within a short period of time which is caused by speculation.

In line 43, the **Turkish economy** is described as ‘slowly and painfully nursed back to stability’. This phrase produces a mental imagery of a ‘crying baby’ (the **Turkish economy**) being cuddled.

43 ... and slowly and painfully the **Turkish economy** was nursed back towards stability. (UKGC\_Nov/06)

In addition the phrase ‘slowly and painfully’ helps emphasize how terrified and upset the baby was. This suggests that the previous condition of the **Turkish economy** was very weak. Its condition was similar to a hungry and upset baby who needs to be comforted and fed with milk (as in ‘nursed back to stability’). As the previous paragraph of line 43 wrote, ‘the country was gripped by its worst-ever economic crisis’ and ‘Kemal Dervis was brought in as economic minister’. In this co-text, it was revealed that the economic crisis has upset the **Turkish economy** and Kemal Dervis (the economic minister) resembles the carer who ‘nursed back’ the vulnerable baby (the **Turkish economy**) to stability from the economic crisis.

In short, in the above four examples, when the **economy** is delineated as eating and drinking like a baby, the focus is on the vulnerability and the dependence of a baby. This helpless behaviour of a baby helps conceive of the undesirable situations of the **economy**. Moreover the descriptions associating the dependent or vulnerable economy as behaving like a baby also help reveal the socially accepted behaviour in a society. That is to say becoming independent is an essential element of a growing person and thus behaving like a baby is undesirable.

#### 7.4.2 Metaphorical extensions of the verbs, ‘feed’, ‘bite’ and ‘swallow’ in the UKGC

In the UKGC, it can be observed that some verbs originally described motions related to eating, such as ‘feed’, ‘bite’ and ‘swallow’ that are metaphorically extended to describe other meanings or emotions. In other words when these verbs are utilized, the focus is not the physical motions of eating. For example

9 The **strong world economy** should eventually feed through to better exports and higher investment ...

(HKEJC\_Jan/06)

In this example the **world economy** is described as ‘feed through’ to better export and higher investment. It is a ‘dead’ metaphor in which the original sense of the **world economy** as being fed as food seems lost (but see Section 7.9). In this sentence the phrase means that a strong **world economy** can supply better exports and higher investment.

In a similar vein, in the UKGC when the **economy** is described as ‘biting’ or ‘swallowing’, it does not refer to the manner of eating. Instead the focus of these two verbs is the emotions of the **economy**. That is to say the negative feeling implicit in these two motions are employed to reflect the painful situations of the **economy** in difficult times. For instance

2 With **economies** now biting, last week was certainly not the most propitious time to launch the new countryside body, Natural England ...

(UKGC\_Oct/06)

In line 2 above, although it is not mentioned what the **economy** is biting, the co-text (*‘not the most propitious time to launch the new countryside body’*) suggests that the **economy** is not biting any tasty food and that some economic activities have been hindered. Data from the Bank of English indicate that the verb ‘bite’ is used to describe the endurance of hard times when it co-occurs with ‘the bullet’. For instance

- ... secretary, Douglas Hurd, are ready to bite the bullet and present a bill to the ...
- ... Governments might do better to bite the bullet and write off all debts ...
- ... has hinted that the government will bite the tariffication bullet - provided ...

As explained in the idiom dictionaries, (Speake 1998, Sinclair 2006), since there was no anaesthetic in the last century, patients were given a bullet to bite on during operations to help distract them from the pain. Therefore ‘biting’ or ‘biting the bullet’ refers to the attitude of withstanding physical discomfort or painful experience. In this respect, when the **economy** is described as ‘biting’ in line 2, it means that the **economy** is in a tough and painful situation, just as the patient in the last century needed to bear the pain without anaesthetic.

In the example below, the verb ‘swallow’ that originally describes the manner of eating is also extended to describe negative emotions.

35 To some on the right, especially in the US, **developing economies** should swallow the offer on the table notional cuts in subsidies by the US, in return for opening their borders to US goods and cutting the subsidies paid to local manufacturing. (UKGC\_Jun/06)

In the example above, the **developing economies** are described as being in a situation where they ‘should swallow the offer’. From the co-text (‘notional cuts in subsidies by the US ... paid to local manufacturing’), it can be understood that the ‘offer’ which is metaphorized as a dish on the table, is not a tasty dish the **economies** desire. It is indeed a deprivation rather than a benefit from the perspective of the developing **economies**. However they still have to ‘swallow’ this offer as if it were tasty. As the idiom dictionaries point out (Speake 1998, Sinclair 2006), hard feelings are suppressed when a person has to ‘*swallow*’ hard times. Data from the Bank of English also confirms that *swallow* is employed metaphorically to describe the negative emotion, the hiding of hard feelings in difficult situations. For instance

...packed with opportunists willing to **swallow** one humiliation after another ...  
 ...enough by their 1991-92 savings to **swallow** any lingering outrage at the ...

Therefore in this example, the focus of the phrase ‘swallow the offer’ is not on the actual physical motion of eating. The focus is the pain in ‘swallowing the offer’ that helps reflect the difficult situation of the **economy**.

#### 7.4.3 Motions related to humming and speaking

In the UKGC, the **economy** is sometimes described as humming, a motion related to singing. For instance

204 Only when Greenspan was confident **the economy** was humming did he start to tighten policy and by then the strong growth in the US coupled with the boom in China ... (UKGC\_Jun/06)

In line 204, the strong **economy** is conceptualized as ‘humming’. In general a humming organism suggests that it is in a good mood. As mentioned in Chapter Four, good emotions usually refer to the strong situation of an economy. Therefore a ‘humming’ **economy** means that the **economy** is in good condition.

On the other hand, speaking problems in human beings (as in ‘splutter’ and ‘stutter’) help conceive of the unfavourable situations of the **economy**. For instance

77 The Indian story fizzled out in the mid-1990s when the **economy** spluttered. (UKGC\_Oct/06)

28 They may think that the Bank will conclude after looking at the mountain of debt, the stuttering US economy and the rising pound, that it is too risky to pull the interest-rate trigger. (UKGC\_Nov/06)

In the above examples, the weak **economy** is mapped as a ‘splutter[ing]’ and ‘stuttering’ human being. When a human being ‘spluttered’ or ‘stutter[ed]’, he or she has difficulties expressing or communicating smoothly and clearly in vocal terms. In a similar vein, when the **economy** is described as ‘splutter[ing]’ or ‘stuttering’, it means that the **economy** cannot function smoothly. Furthermore line 28 above is a mixed metaphor describing the unfavourable conditions of the surroundings. The unfavourable conditions include ‘the mountain of debt’, ‘the stuttering US **economy**’, and ‘the rising pound’. These three phrases refer to three different types of entities which possess three different sets of correspondence. However they occur in the

same situation. As has been explained in other mixed metaphors throughout my study, CMT whose claims for cross-domain mapping may not be able to explain how the problems of the **economy** can be mapped onto the other two entities. From a blending theory point of view, it can be revealed that the conditions delivered in these three figurative expressions are similar. All three expressions help describe the highly unfavourable conditions of the surroundings. When they are put together, they help to reinforce this unfavourable situation of the surroundings. Therefore as described in line 28, it is not suitable to ‘pull the interest-rate trigger’, which is another metaphor delineating the implementation of a policy as shooting. On the whole this ‘metaphor cluster’ creates mental imagery wherein a human being is carefully examining if the surroundings are suitable for shooting. This metaphor cluster helps conceptualize the careful considerations of the Bank before implementing its policy

#### 7.5 Motions related to the mouth in the HKEJC

In the HKEJC, motions related to eating and drinking are not common and the motions related to speaking and humming are not observed. Below is an example metaphorizing the **economy** as eating.



183 If the Chief Executive Tung Chee Hwa really hopes to delay the democratic steps in Hong Kong, he should feed the **economy** with poison, promote a series of ‘up-to-date’ policies to pull down the economy ...  
 (如果 曾特首 真的 希望 拖延 香港 的 民主 步伐 , 他 应该 给 经济 餵毒药 , 推出 一 系列 「与时并进」的 措施 , 拖垮 经济 ...)  
 (HKEJC\_Jan/06)

In this example, the unfavourable policies (as in ‘the ‘up-to-date’ policies’) are described as poison. Similar to the dangers a poison can bring to living organisms, unfavourable policies may damage the Hong Kong **economy** (as in ‘pull down the economy’). Moreover line 183 manifests a mixed metaphor that the **economy** appears to be both a poisoned living organism and a collapsed building. By a blending analysis, it can be revealed that the main focus of these two figurative expressions is the damage done to the living organism and the building. The focus in these two figurative expressions is blended to conceptualize the damaged **Hong Kong economy**.

Moreover it can also be observed that difficulties are mapped as food which needs to be digested over a longer time. For instance

300 ... even the rate continues to increase, the burden created for mortgages will only appear gradually, the **economy** still has enough time to digest this problem.  
 (... 即使 利率 继续 调升 , 对 按揭 还款 负担 影响 只会 逐步 显现 , 经济 有 充足 时间 作出 消化 。)  
 (HKEJC\_Mar/06)

In line 300 above, the burden created by the increased rate on mortgages is described as indigestible food. This description suggests that external supports also resemble food for living organisms as described in the UKGC. Similar to the indigestible

food that requires more time for the stomach to digest, the burden derived from the increased rate requires more time for the **economy** to tackle it. However, as described in the example, the **economy** ‘still has enough time to digest this problem’.

Similar to the UKGC, motions related to eating are also metaphorically extended to describe other actions. For instance

306 ... around the period of the handover, the **Hong Kong economy** only aimed at ‘eating the old capital’...  
(... 回归 前后 香港 的 经济 只在「食老本」...)(HKEJC\_Feb/06)

In the above example, the **Hong Kong economy** is conceived as ‘eating the old capital’. Obviously this phrase does not mean that the **Hong Kong economy** was actually eating some banknotes. This motion concerning eating is metaphorically extended to describe the attitude of the **Hong Kong economy**. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the adjective ‘old’ tends to carry a negative evaluation in the HKEJC (as in ‘the old path’ in Chapter Five). Similarly the phrase ‘the old capital’ carries a negative evaluation. The phrase carries a meaning similar to the word, ‘seedcorn’, which is the grain used for planting next year’s crops. If the seedcorn is eaten, it means that there will be no harvest in the next year. In a similar vein, the phrase ‘the old capital’ refers to an internal problem of the **Hong Kong economy** that was not paying enough effort to develop its future but only depending on its previous achievements and aggregates around the time of the handover. In this way this

phrase also implies that when all the ‘old capital’ is spent and no other methods are explored to increase revenue, there would be nothing left for the **Hong Kong economy** in the future.

## 7.6 A summary of the motions related to the mouth in both corpora

On the whole, metaphors related to the mouth are more salient in the UKGC whereas they are not common in the HKEJC. Diagrams 7.2a and 7.2b are summaries of the metaphorical extensions of the motions related to the mouth in the UKGC and the HKEJC.

Diagram 7.2a Metaphorical extensions of the motions related to the mouth in the UKGC

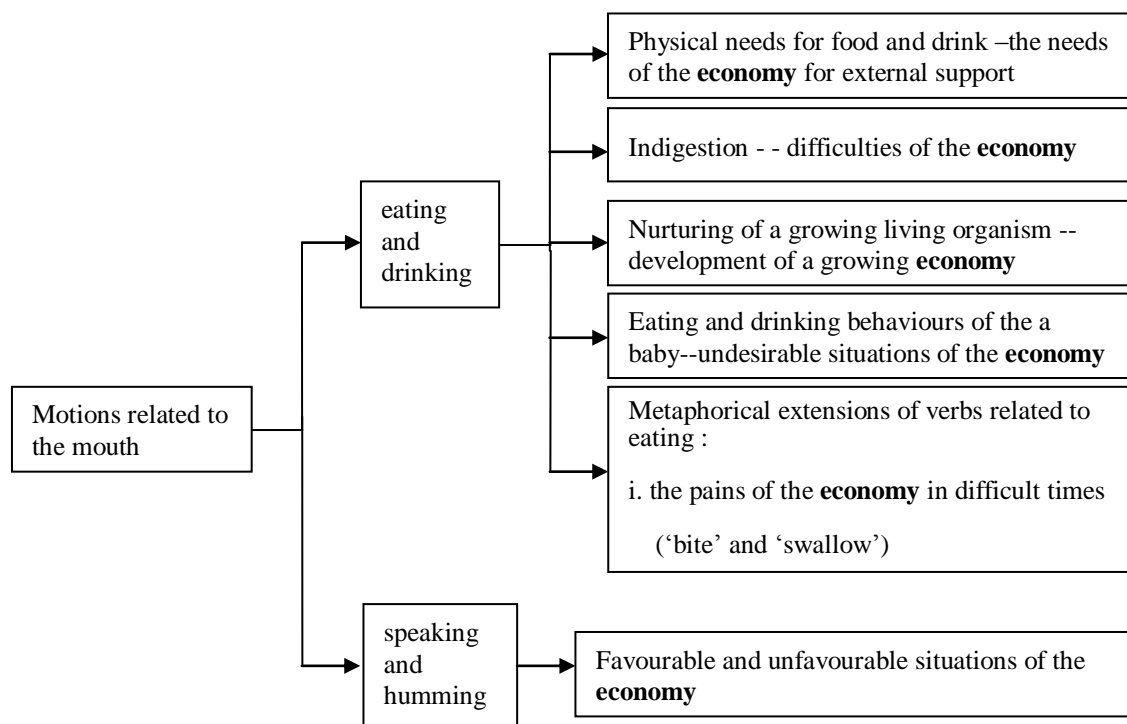
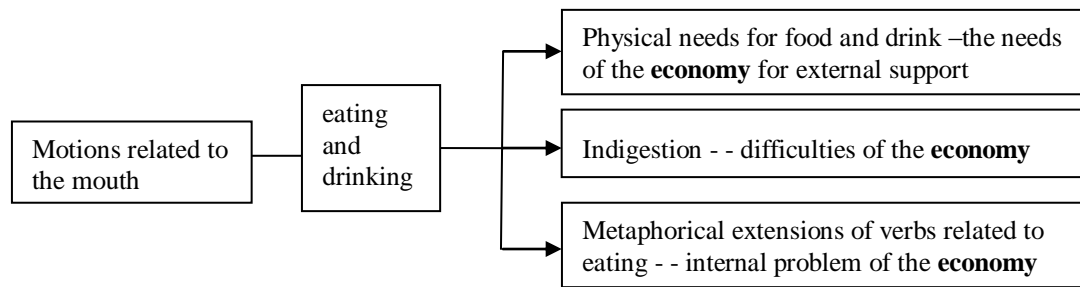


Diagram 7.2b Metaphorical extensions of the motions related to the mouth in the HKEJC



Concerning the metaphorical extension of motions related to eating and drinking in both corpora, the same extensions manifested in both corpora are the ones based on our embodied experience. That is our basic needs for food and drink and our experience of indigestion. In other metaphorical extensions of these motions, phrases such as 'biting the bullet' and 'eating the old capital' as 'eating seedcorn' reflect old medical and farming practices which may not be in use nowadays. As Littlemore (2003) points out, cultural awareness is important in the process of understanding metaphors (Littlemore 2003). Moreover the mapping of the undesirable situations of the **economy** as the eating behaviour of a baby in the UKGC helps reflect the socially accepted behaviour of a society. That is independent behaviour is encouraged when we are growing up. These metaphorical extensions of the motions related to eating and drinking help support the argument that metaphor

study is cultural–cognitive and the study of metaphor can help reveal the thinking, values and evaluations of the people (Kovecses 2005, Cameron 2008).

Moreover as mentioned in previous chapters, emotions of the **economy**, which help illustrate the states of the **economy**, tend to be embedded in its physical motions (as in ‘perk up’), this kind of mapping recurs in the phrases ‘biting the bullet’ and ‘swallow the offer’.

## 7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, motions related to the mouth and the breathing organs have been discussed. At a cognitive level, the mixed metaphors explained in this and the previous two chapters help illustrate the dynamic nature of meaning construction processes. Many of these mixed metaphors are novel metaphors created in our spontaneous meaning construction. As Müller (2008) points out, these metaphors may appear nonsense at first glance and they may be mistaken as ‘errors’. However it is undeniable that mixed metaphors occur rather frequently in our daily communication and we understand what they mean when we hear them. By using the blending analysis, it has been explained that these mixed metaphors indeed make perfect sense as Müller argues. Blending Theory helps explain how different kinds

of metaphors are mixed in different ways in our spontaneous meaning construction. Moreover the emergence of mixed metaphors helps demonstrate that the Conceptual Metaphor Theory which is based on cross-domain mapping may not be able to explain all metaphors. Moreover they also help reveal that meaning construction is not as fixed as the CMT claims. The analysis of the phrase ‘feeding through’ in the UKGC may call for support from gesture studies to supplement metaphor study. Although it has been explained that the original sense of ‘feeding food’ seems lost in this phrase, it would be interesting to investigate if people speaking this metaphor would clarify the metaphor with the gesture of ‘feeding food’. If this is the case, it can be an example demonstrating that many dead metaphors are indeed alive. Many of them may not be as ‘dead’ as we think. Many ‘dead’ metaphors discussed in my study may be ‘revived’ with the support of gesture study.

On a cultural-cognitive level, many expressions utilized in the metaphors help reveal the thinking, values and evaluations of the people speaking the metaphor. It is necessary to consider the cultural elements implicit in the metaphor. Moreover the recurrence of the theme ‘building an inseparable economic relationship’ throughout my study suggests the influence of culture in our thought processes. Although the economic system of Hong Kong is mainly adapted from the western system due to its

colonial background before 1997, the recurrence of the theme ‘building an inseparable economic relationship’ suggests that the Hong Kong people are using their Chinese mindset to manage their economic system which has its basis in western culture.

Pragmatically, through the breathing metaphor in the two corpora, it has been explained how different themes can be made prominent by selecting different elements for metaphorical extensions. That is to say the breathing metaphor in the HKEJC focuses more on the idea of building ‘a close relationship’. This pragmatic function of metaphor is similar to the highlighting and hiding effects claimed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003). However Lakoff and Johnson focus on the unconscious nature of this effect as thought processes are largely unconscious. As explained in Chapter Two, metaphor has long been a rhetorical device since Aristotle’s time and writers may implement cultural elements of the people using the metaphor in order to evoke a sense of resonance between themselves and their listeners. In the breathing metaphors in the HKEJC, it can be observed how the concepts of economic relationships are illustrated by consciously using the common concept of building a close relationship (especially among family members) in a Chinese society.

As Charteris Black (2004) argues, metaphor study involves linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic dimensions. As he puts it,

“Metaphor has a number of different roles in language: a semantic role in creating new meanings for words, a cognitive role in developing our understanding on the basis of analogy and a pragmatic role that aims to provide evaluations (p.24).”

Moreover it was also explained in Chapter Two that culture is encoded in all forms of activities and entities in our daily lives (therefore including metaphor) and culture does refer to the way in which a group of people identify their in-group members and distinguish themselves from other groups. That is to say, the frequent use of metaphor concerning the inseparability of relationship in the HKEJC helps differentiate the culture of this place from other cultures.

By and large the metaphorical extensions of ‘breathing’ in the HKEJC help illustrate that culture, cognition and pragmatics are all interrelated. Our cognition is situated within a broad cultural context wherein pragmatic functions of metaphor manifest themselves at three levels. The highlighting and hiding effects of metaphor may occur unconsciously as our thought processes are largely unconscious; writers may consciously select some elements in their metaphors to achieve their persuasive ends;



and metaphor, as a way encoding culture, may naturally help differentiate one culture from another.

## Chapter 8: Summary and Conclusion

### 8.1 Summary of my study

In the study undertaken in this thesis, I have compared how the word ‘economy’ is delineated in different kinds of body-part metaphors in the two corpora composed of economic news articles sourced from Britain and Hong Kong. I observed certain similarities and differences in the body-part metaphors describing the topic ‘economy’ in these two corpora. The study was conducted by studying the linguistic expressions realizing these metaphors in five ways: i) investigating the kinds of conceptual metaphors which are shared in both corpora linguistically and cognitively; ii) investigating the different linguistic expressions realizing the same metaphors; iii) investigating the different metaphors; iv) investigating the metaphorical extensions of the same words and motions; v) counting the frequencies of body-part metaphors and the constituent elements of these metaphors; and vi) investigating the syntactic structures of the linguistic metaphors. The findings of the study can be summarized at three levels, namely the cognitive level, cultural-cognitive level, and pragmatic level.

On the cognitive level, by investigating these body-part metaphors, I have attempted to illustrate the theoretical stances I set out in Chapters One and Two. In Chapter One, I explained that meaning construction is a dynamic process which is not as fixed as CMT claims. Moreover, I discussed how Blending Theory and Primary Metaphor Theory may help complement the shortcomings of CMT. These two theoretical issues were dealt with from Chapter Four to Chapter Seven when I discussed the mixed metaphor observed in my data. In these four chapters, I analyzed some of the mixed metaphors that emerged from my corpora in terms of Blending Theory, in an attempt to illustrate the dynamic nature of meaning constructions. By a blending analysis, different kinds of meaningful elements of these mixed metaphors selected for the blending processes were revealed. For instance, in some mixed metaphors, only the protasis or the apodosis of the metaphors was selected for blending processes (see examples in Chapter Four). In other mixed metaphors, the meaningful elements lie in either the figurative meanings of the expressions or the literal meanings of the expressions. The variations of meaningful elements in these mixed metaphors help demonstrate that meaning construction is not as fixed as CMT claims. In other words, although CMT claims that there is a systematic network of metaphors that we utilize to construct our thoughts, the processes of metaphor production sometimes is

not as neat as the cross-domain mapping claims. In spontaneous and authentic situations, we may mix and match the metaphors in the huge network of metaphors we possess, resulting in the emergence of these creative mixed metaphors. Moreover, the effectiveness of Blending Theory in analyzing the production processes of these mixed metaphors helps complement the inadequacy of CMT in explaining mixed metaphors.

Let us now turn to the cultural-cognitive level. In Chapters One and Two, I pointed out the inseparability of culture and embodied cognition and attempted to investigate the relationship of culture and embodied experience to the formation of conceptual metaphor. As the findings from Chapters Four to Seven indicate, the conceptual metaphors which are shared by the two corpora are mainly primary metaphors which are derived from our embodied experience with the world. These shared metaphors which I observed in the two corpora help demonstrate that embodied experience appears to be the basis in our meaning construction processes. However, the cross-cultural variations manifested in linguistic expressions in the same conceptual metaphors, the observations of different metaphors and the different metaphorical extensions of the same literal words or motions indicate that culture is important in

the meaning construction processes and thus variations in conceptual metaphor across cultures emerge.

For instance, in Chapter Four, I observed that the conceptual metaphor THE STATES OF THE ECONOMY IS THE PHYSICAL STRENGTH OF A LIVING ORGANISM is shared in the two corpora. However, the use of ‘muscle’ to realize this conceptual metaphor in the UK corpus appears to be culture-specific. The conceptual metaphor REVIVING THE ECONOMY IS HEALING A PATIENT is also shared in the two corpora. In this metaphor, culture-specific expressions realizing this metaphor were observed in the Hong Kong corpus. These expressions are related to the alternative healing methods derived from Taoism. These two examples indicate that the ways we describe the same concepts may differ across cultures due to the different folk theories or social values in different places.

The different metaphors observed in my study help illustrate that embodied experience is not exclusively in our heads but situated in our cultural backgrounds, as in the different metaphors SPECULATION IS FRYING and LOSING SPECULATORS ARE CRABS which I observed in the Hong Kong corpus. These metaphors reveal how social environments may affect the formation of embodied experience and thus the construction of the economic concept concerning ‘speculation’. Other different

metaphors such as THE SELF IS THE BODY helps illustrate that folk theory may give rise to certain specific concepts in a culture. In this conceptual metaphor, it was explained that Confucianism has helped form the special concept of treating their ‘bodies’ as their ‘self identities’ among the Chinese people.

Moreover, the conceptual metaphor THE SELF IS THE BODY is indeed a highly structured cultural model which is unlikely to derive from embodied experience. The cultural model concerning family relationship (including marriage) which I discussed in Chapter Six is another example of highly structured cultural models. In Chapter Six, it was revealed that the two cultures possess two different kinds of values concerning the same concept, family relationship. In the Guardian corpus, it was revealed that family members in a British society can maintain a certain level of individuality when they are building a close family relationship. However, the family members in a Chinese society lose their own self in a close family relationship context as they are merged to become a bigger self, ‘the honour of their family’. It is difficult to explain how these concepts related to family relationship can emerge directly from embodied experience in these two cultures. They need to be learnt from the social environments, such as from our parents or teachers. In addition, cross-cultural variations of the metaphors were also revealed in the saliency of

metaphor used in the two corpora. In Chapter Five, by counting the frequencies of the constituent elements realizing the journey metaphor in the two corpora, it was revealed that the cognitive processes of journalists in the two cultures may have affected their preferences of focusing on different constituent elements.

In short, on a cultural-cognitive level, the findings from Chapters Four to Seven, including the examples cited here indicate that embodied experience are the basis of our meaning construction process which is constrained by different kinds of cultural factors. As a result, apart from the manifestation of the same conceptual metaphors (mainly primary metaphors) across cultures, we may employ different cultural factors to describe the same concepts in different cultures (as in *SPECULATION IS FRYING* and *LOSING SPECULATORS ARE CRABS*) and we may have different culture-specific conceptual metaphors in different cultures (as in *THE SELF IS THE BODY*). On the one hand, these observations suggest that embodied cognition is insufficient in explaining the formation of highly structured cultural models. On the other hand, since metaphor is culture-specific, while investigating the influence of culture and embodied experience on the formation of conceptual metaphor in my study, the ways of thinking, values, evaluations and attitudes attached to the word 'economy' in these two places were naturally revealed in the process of investigation.

On a pragmatic level, in Chapter Six, it was explained how these cultural factors were employed to shape the economic cultures concerning relationships in the two places. Through the ‘family relationship’ metaphor, the economic relationship shaped in the UK corpus is a culture which enables certain levels of individuality whereas the one shaped in the Hong Kong corpus requires no separation from each other. In Chapter Seven, by analyzing the metaphorical extensions of the motions related to breathing, it was illustrated how pragmatic ends (or persuasive ends) can be achieved by emphasizing different elements in metaphorical extensions. That is to say, the UK corpus emphasizes the importance of problem solving in economic processes whereas the Hong Kong corpus insists on the building of a close relationship among other entities in economic processes. As metaphor is a way of encoding culture, it is also this salient ‘relationship metaphor’ which helps differentiate Chinese economic culture from other economies.

The syntactic structure of the body metaphors may also help to reveal the motivation for using metaphor in the two languages. Throughout the analysis from Chapter Four to Chapter Seven, I explained that the body-part metaphors in the Guardian corpus are mainly composed of verbal patterns that are likely to trigger dynamic mental imagery. As Charteris-Black (2001:275) points out, the use of metaphor in



English ‘is primarily determined by the need to influence the interpretation of discourse; it may therefore be described as socio-rhetorical.’ This may explain why more verbal patterns were observed in the Guardian Corpus as verbal patterns help create dynamic images of the ideas made by the journalists. In other words, the verbal patterns enable journalists to express their opinions clearly and overtly in order to persuade their readers. On the other hand, in Chapters five to seven, the body metaphors used in the Hong Kong corpus either focused on the locations in the journey metaphor or created static images of the **economy**, and this kind of delineation reflects a covert expression of the concepts concerning economy in the Chinese economic context. This finding corresponds to Slobin’s (1996) work of the way in which motion events are construed in the two languages.

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, Chinese people are influenced by Confucianism and communism which values hierarchy and obedience. Under these two kinds of influences, opinions should be expressed covertly in order to avoid conflict and opposition. Therefore, the preference for locations and static descriptions in the metaphor help avoid direct confrontations and conflicts if their opinions are different from the authorities. This use of metaphor for

communications and expression of opinions is rather similar to the socialcultural use of metaphor among Malay people described by Charteris-Black (2001).

In short, the overall findings of my study suggest that the British economic journalists are influenced by their social-rhetoric tradition of utilizing metaphor, the values they hold in their daily lives (such as their family concept and the need for independence among growing adults) and the ‘scientific-ness’ required in Western economic theory. On the other hand, the findings suggest that the Hong Kong economic journalists’ mindset is influenced by Confucianism, communism and by a belief in market forces. It is this mixture that results in the development of schemata and the tendency to focus on certain parts of these schemata. These findings help illustrate the central ideas proposed by the burgeoning cognitive sociolinguistics that cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics are mutually related to each other (Kristiansen and Dirven 2008). As Geeraerts et al (2010:3) put it,

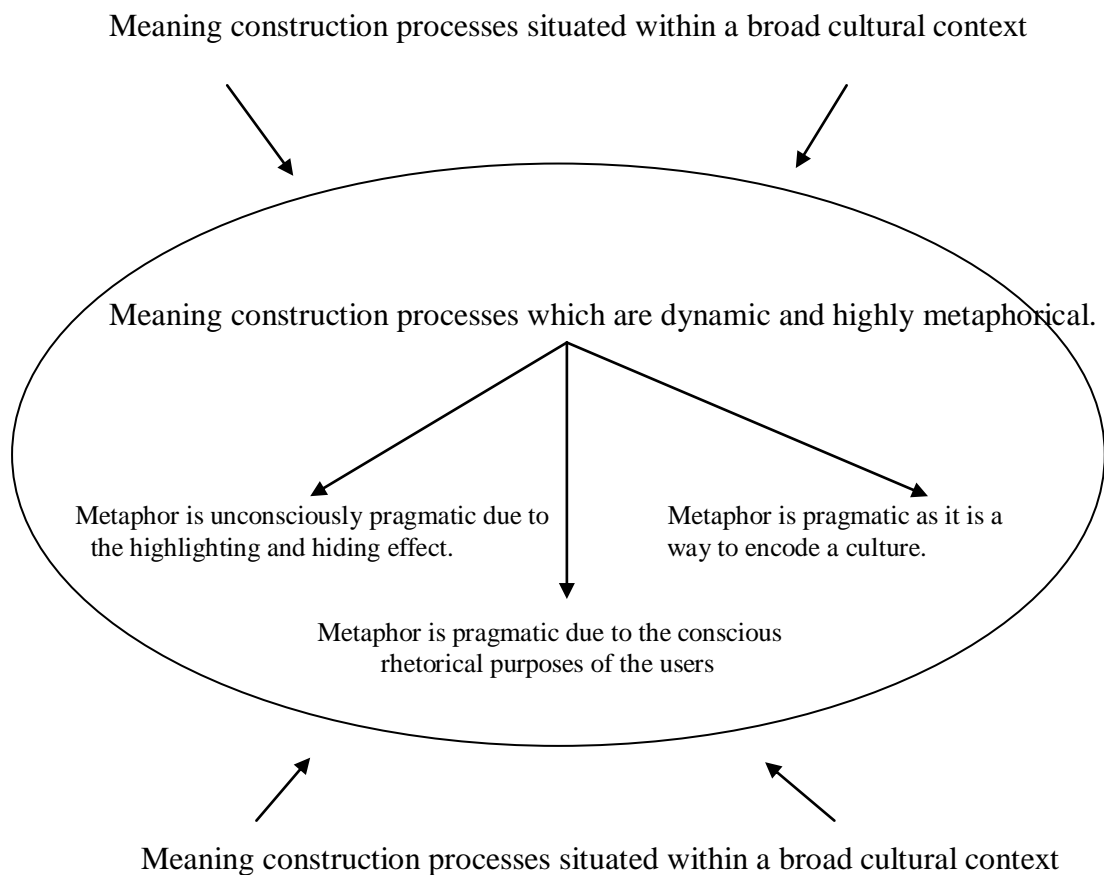
“the principle that language is all about meaning, in the broadest possible sense, in combination with four specific assumptions about the nature of linguistic meaning-that language is flexible and dynamic, that it is encyclopaedic and non-autonomous, that it is based on usage and experience, and that it is perspectival in nature. But meaning does not exist in isolation: it is created in and transmitted through interaction of people, and that is why the definition and basic architecture of language

are recognized by Cognitive Linguistics as involving not just cognitive, but socially and culturally situated cognition.”

In short, my study has attempted to illustrate the interrelation of these four assumptions proposed by cognitive sociolinguistics (see Diagram 8.1 below).

That is to say, our cognition is situated within a broad cultural context and thus culture-specific metaphors naturally emerge. Moreover, our cognitive processes are both consciously and unconsciously pragmatic.

Diagram 8.1 The inter-related among our cognition, our cultural context and pragmatic uses of metaphors



## 8.2 Suggestions for further studies

Earlier in this thesis (in Chapters four to seven), I mentioned a number of other studies which could be conducted in order to extend these findings further. In this section, I will suggest some ways in which these studies could be carried out. Firstly, it was mentioned that mixed metaphors frequently occur in our meaning construction process. Due to the scope of my study, only the mixed metaphors that emerged from the generic metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM were investigated. Indeed, mixed metaphors emerged from other generic metaphors such as THE ECONOMY IS AN OBJECT, ECONOMIC PROCESSES ARE MECHANICAL PROCESSES, THE ECONOMY IS FLYING and so on could usefully be investigated. Below are some of the examples of mixed metaphors observed in other generic metaphors.

- 223 ...an hour spent buying trinket tickets on the quayside before reboarding for the next meal is unlikely to inject many tourist dollars into the local **economy**. (UKGC\_Mar/06)
- 117 ...The broader **economic** impact is also benign. (UKGC\_Aug/6)
- 53 ...But the excesses of **economic** power can be tamed... (UKGC\_Sept/06)
- 234 ... a country that relies on tourism and happy tourists to bolster its **economy**, yet beset by a growing humanitarian disaster ... (UKGC\_Mar/06)
- 253 ...and that the **global economy** has enough momentum to see it through short-term difficulties. (UKGC\_Jul/06)
- 103 ...balance the **USA economy** in order to prevent (the economy) to be too hot or too cold...  
...平衡 美国经济，以免出现过热或过冷... (HKEJC\_Jan/06)
- 238 ...but behind the back of the prosperity of the **economy**...  
...但在经济一片兴旺的背后... (HKEJC\_Jun/06)
- 26 ... Following the withering, shrinking and transition of the **economy**...  
...随着香港经济的萎缩和转型... (HKEJC\_Jan/06)

55 ... I think they are hijacking the **Hong Kong economy**, and killing its development...

... 我 认为 它们 正 骑劫 **香港经济** , 并且 扼杀 其 发展 ...

(HKEJC\_Jan/06)

490 ...the first Finance Minister and Vice President, Dr Goh Keng Swee has laid the foundation of the taking off the Singapore economy...

...为 **新加坡经济** 起飞 奠基 的 首任 财政部长 兼 副总理 吴庆瑞 ...

(HKEJC\_Aug/06)

Secondly, through investigating the metaphorical extensions of certain words and motions on a linguistic level (as in the words ‘path’ and ‘seeing’ and the motions related to ‘running and walking’, ‘the mouth’ and ‘the breathing organs’), it was observed that changes of meaning in the process of metaphorical extensions may involve the change of image schemas. Thus, I would suggest there should be more studies comparing the metaphorical extensions of certain words and motions on the cognitive level, in addition to the linguistic comparisons recommended by Deignan (1999). In other words, we might usefully compare the metaphorical extensions of certain words and motions by looking at the change of schemas. For instance, metaphors concerning ‘the heart’ have been investigated in previous research (Yu 2002). Many metaphors involving ‘the heart’ were found in both the English and the Chinese language. Table 8.1 on p.341 shows some of the examples. More metaphors concerning the ‘heart’ can be found in dictionaries.

By studying these ‘heart’ metaphors, we might begin to understand what kinds of schemas are usually involved in the metaphorical extensions of the ‘heart’ in these two languages. The study of the common schemas involved in the ‘heart’ metaphors

in different languages, such as English and Chinese may help reveal cultural differences between these cultures. Moreover, we may also be able to observe whether a change of schema is involved when there is a change of meaning in these ‘heart’ metaphors. These kinds of study would help reveal the cognitive activities involved in our meaning construction processes. For instance, in the English language, the phrases ‘open your heart’ and ‘my heart sinks’ mean ‘to reveal the most private thoughts or feelings’ and ‘depressed’ respectively. It can be seen that these two phrases describe the ‘heart’ as two different forms, a container and an object respectively. Moreover, two different schemas are involved in these two phrases which result in two different meanings. The phrase ‘open your heart’ involves the *force* schema whereas ‘my heart sinks’ involves the *up/down* schemas. Another example involving the change of schema when there is a difference of meaning can be seen in the Chinese phrases ‘*kai xin*’ (‘open the heart’ 開心) and ‘*chui xin*’ (‘beat the heart’ 椎心). In Chinese language, the former means ‘happy’ whereas the latter means ‘be heartbroken’. It can be observed that the change of meanings in these two phrases involves the change of schemas as well. That is to say, the former involves the *enablement* force whereas the latter involve the *compulsion* force.

Table 8.1 metaphors concerning the heart in the English and Chinese languages

In English language	In Chinese language
‘open your heart’	‘ <i>kai xin</i> ’ (open the heart 開心)
‘lose heart’	= ‘happy; joyous’
‘take something to your heart’	
‘wear your heart on your sleeve’	‘ <i>xin kuang shen yi</i> ’ (the heart is broad and the spirit is joyful 心曠神怡)
‘eat your heart out’	= ‘relaxed and joyful’
‘pour out your heart’	
‘your heart is in your mouth’	
‘your heart harden’	‘ <i>xin hua nu fang</i> ’
‘break your heart’	(the heart-flower blooms wildly 心花怒放)
‘a bleeding heart’	= ‘burst with joy’
‘a broken heart’	
‘close to your heart’	‘ <i>jiao xin</i> ’ (twist the heart 絞心)
‘cross my heart’	= ‘sorrow-stricken; grief-stricken’
‘big-hearted’	
‘faint-hearted’	‘ <i>xin sui</i> ’ (heart-fragmented 心碎)
‘my heart sinks’	= ‘be heartbroken’
‘in my heart’	
(Examples taken from <i>Collins COBUILD Idioms Dictionary 2006</i> and <i>Collins COBUILD English Guides 7: Metaphor 1995</i> )	‘ <i>wan jian chuan xin</i> ’
	(ten.thousand-arrows-pierce-heart 萬箭穿心)
	= ‘in extreme grief’
	‘ <i>si xin lie fei</i> ’ (tear-heart split-lungs 撕心裂肺)
	= ‘be extremely grieved’
	‘ <i>chui xin</i> ’ (thump the heart 椎心)
	‘beat one’s heart’ — be heartbroken’
	‘ <i>qing xin</i> ’ (pour your heart 傾心)
	= ‘fall in love with’
	(Examples adapted from Yu 2002)

On a cross-linguistic level, a comparison of these phrases may also reveal how the same schema may be utilized in different ways in different cultures. As shown in Table 8.1, both languages manifest the phrases ‘open your heart’ which involved the CONTAINER schema. However, as mentioned earlier, this phrase in English metaphorically means ‘to reveal the most private thoughts or feelings’ whereas it

refers to a happy emotion in the Chinese language. Further studies such as interviewing people in these two cultures to investigate how they explain the motions involved in these phrases could usefully be carried out. These studies would be valuable in exploring how cultural differences may affect people's perceptions of the motions described in these phrases and thus lead to different metaphorical meanings of these phrases.

Thirdly, on a pragmatic level, it has been explained that Hong Kong people tend to manage their economic policy with a Chinese mindset. Diachronic studies investigating the metaphor used pre- and post-1997 in the economic discourse in Hong Kong may help reveal the colonial influence of Britain and the Influence of Chinese sovereignty on Hong Kong pre- and post-1997. In addition, my study concerning how the pragmatic use of metaphors can be achieved through selecting different elements in the process of metaphorical extensions of certain words was only carried out in the generic metaphor, THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM. These kinds of pragmatic uses of metaphors involving other generic metaphors concerning the **economy** were not discussed in my study. Therefore, further study of the pragmatic use of metaphorical extension of certain words and motions where the



**economy** is conceptualized as an object, a machine and the like may also be investigated

Fourthly, gesture studies concerning the motion metaphors which are conventionally treated as ‘dead’ can be carried out in order to investigate whether these metaphors may trigger the ‘dormant’ original senses of these words. For example, group discussions where people from the Hong Kong and the United Kingdom are invited to express their feelings and opinions on certain topics could be carried out. In these discussions, special attention can be paid to examine whether the interviewees would perform hand gestures concerning the motion words they employed. If hand gestures are observed, it may help to reveal that the original senses of many ‘dead’ metaphors are indeed triggered in the conceptual mapping processes.

Fifthly, as mentioned in chapter four, when the **economy** is delineated as a living organism, it is endowed with a physical appearance as if it can carry out certain motions; it can feel and think. Due to the limited scope of my study, metaphors concerning the emotions of the **economy** were not investigated further although they were also observed in my data. Since the source domain EMOTIONS is also conventionally employed to describe the states of economy, it is believed that further

studies comparing how these languages employed emotion metaphors may further reveal the cultures of these two places.

Finally, it was also mentioned in Chapter Three concerning the limitations of corpus methods that it would be impossible to compile a corpus including all linguistic patterns. More findings concerning the culture differences in metaphor used in these two languages might be expected to emerge if more corpora composed of other newspapers are compiled. Despite this limitation, this study has attempted to combine ideas in the fields of cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics.

That is to say, by comparing the metaphors used in the UKGC and HKEJC, my study has attempted to explore our meaning construction processes which are situated within a broad cultural context, which is both consciously and unconsciously pragmatic.

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## Appendices

### Mechanistic metaphors in the UKGC\_dec/06

#### ECONOMIC PROCESSES ARE MECHANICAL PROCESSES

##### The operation of the economy as a machine

10 uses labour shortages, it also helps to fuel an economy that is expanding year-on-year by more th  
30 colossal trade deficit paid for on tick. Britain's economy comes from a similar mould, albeit on a s  
50 was also lauded by many for turning his country's economy into a dynamic free-market model for the  
58 why should aviation force the rest of the European economy to reduce its emissions much faster than  
60 more cheaply. All that counts is that the European economy as a whole is reducing its emissions - it  
95 e post offices generate pounds 16.20 for the local economy. It also reckons that each post office sa  
99 price for anything. I had to explain how a market economy works and that a product is only worth wh  
185 quarter will add to the MPC's suspicions that the economy is currently operating pretty close to fu  
202 doomed to failure. A brainy chancellor running the economy from the engine rooms of the Treasury is  
214 full impact of the migration that helps power the economy by keeping down wages. Meanwhile, the min  
250 was that the capital's role as a driver of the UK economy is threatened. It was, he added, "economi  
279 ionalising this virtual real estate. As usual with economy drives, the proposals are a blend of comm  
13 : "Higher education is a major driver of knowledge economies across the globe. If you look at all th  
59 Trading]." As well as providing an overview of the economic forces at work, Maxed Out the movie tell

##### Concerning the efficiency of the economy

17 the Leitch review of skills, recognition of FE's economic potential should be welcomed by employer  
20 nt by a Labour party not previously celebrated for economic efficiency is an added endorsement. What



25 counter-intuitive, but apathy is a force with huge economic potential. And it is one that a Labour g  
 3 exam results based on social class of any advanced economy. By contrast, Finland doesn't have the sa  
 266 ssion of these and other recent figures is of a US economy increasing its output at about 2% to 2.5%  
 15 ry's position as one of the most powerful internet economies in the world. The total number of peopl

The economy is a vehicle

143 over the next 30 years. Otherwise, it warned, the economy was on track for "undistinguished mediocr  
 186 This does not leave much room for manoeuvre if the economy is blown off course. For all his success  
 177 ssociation of Estate Agents, says: "Subject to the economy maintaining its current course, we are ex

Collison

247 es to have a significant negative impact on the UK economy," said Stephen Gifford, the firm's chief  
 260 ices, which continued to rise until the unfettered economy duly crashed. Now Gordon Brown and Kate B  
 270 icits, Asian trade surpluses - and insulate the US economy a little from the impact of a severe hous  
 7 leries in Britain, which analyses their social and economic impact. The economic impact of museums i  
 53 ich analyses their social and economic impact. The economic impact of museums is estimated at pounds  
 54 neration in Derry. "There is ample evidence of the economic impact of a university to a region, and  
 55 a substantial decrease in the scale of fraud. "The economic impact of [carousel] fraud continues to  
 41 can grow here at Magee it will have a significant economic impact on the north- west. This isn't ju

Concerning the lever theory

257 th a tighter fiscal policy helped rebalance the UK economy, boosting production at the expense of co

## Mechanistic metaphors in the HKEJC\_dec/06

## ECONOMIC PROCESSES ARE MECHANICAL PROCESSES

## Collocations realizing the economy as a machine

## Motivate (带动)

25 ...各位 应 明白 世界 经济 由 消费 带动 ...

505 ... 海洋公园 扩展 计划 将 带动 港岛 南区 的 经济...

544 ... 香港 的 经济 与 旅游 在 自由行 及 内地 同胞 来港 旅游 的 带动 下 ...

545 ... 大部分 港商 则 拥抱 服务业 带动 的 经济 ...

672 ... 香港 经济 起初 是由 出口 所 带动...

## Integrate (融合)

32 ... 随着 中港 两地 经济 渐趋 融合...

35 ... 调整 政策 加强 两岸 经济 融合 ...

## Pressure (震动/压力)

250 ... 能在 经济 内外 震动 时 应付 压力 ...

251 ...能否 在 经济 内外 震动 时 应付 压力 ...

385 ...形成 美元 强势 时 经济 受压 ...

## Vehicle

1 ...到 1978 年 经济 才 再次 返回 正轨 ...

Collision

632 ...最 忧虑的 是 九七 后 香港 的 资本主义 经济 会 受到 冲击...

Stability

- 9 ...随着 经济 回稳 、 政府 收入 增加 ， 现在 赤字 不但 消失 ...
- 20 ... 财政 稳健 与 经济 稳定 之间 ， 如要 抉择 ， 宁要 政府 的 财政 稳定 与 健康 ...
- 120 ... 1978 年 邓小平改革 开放 政策 ， 引发 全球 经济 重新 走向 平衡 ...
- 137 ... 在 全球 经济 不平衡 下...
- 138 ...试图 把 泰国 的 困局 与 全球 经济 不平衡 捆绑 在 一起 ...
- 139 ... 最后 全球 经济 一定 变得 较平衡 ...
- 210 ...反映 经济 状况 较之前 稳固 ...
- 337 ...主要 是 恐怕 金融 的 波动 可 影响 经济 稳定 ...
- 418 ...由于 金融 为 本港 经济 支柱 ， 使 本港 经济 相当 稳定 ...
- 429 ... 明年 本港 经济 将 维持 稳定 ...
- (439) ... 目前 本港 经济 基调 更为 稳健 ...
- (490) ... 放弃 整个 社会 的 经济 稳定 与 健康 ...
- (498) ...他的 收入 主要 视乎 本地 的 经济 是否 稳健 ...

Transition (转型)

- 3 ...经济 转型后 谁受惠 、 谁受害 已 十分 明显...
- 42 ... 今年起 中国 经济 转型期 似乎 有八十年代 香港 咁好彩 ...
- 157 ... 而是 有助 内地 经济 由 出口型 转为 消费型 ...

158 …而是 有助 内地 经济 由 出口型 转为 消费型 云云…

165 …既然 内地 经济 将由 「出口型 转为 消费型」 …

194 …在 资源 调配 运用 及 经济 转型 上 ， 政府 担当 领导 的 角色 …

226 … 中国 由 劳工 密集型 经济 转向 资金 密集 及 高科技 含量 经济 …

259 … 也令 我们 的 知识型 经济 转型 ， 并不成功 …

260 … 而是 中央 希望 内地 由 出口型 经济 转为 消费 型 经济…

263 …由于 本港 转型 为 知识型 经济…

264 … 中央 希望 内地 由 出口 型 经济 转为 消费型 经济 …

293 … 中国 由 劳工 密集型 经济 转向 资金 密集 及 高科技 含量 经济 …

362 …响 整个 经济 转型 过程 中 …

466 … 为了 满足 经济 转型 对 人才 的 需求 …

480 … 认为 香港 的 经济 转型 仍 没有 定论 …

481 … 香港 将要 再一次 面对 痛苦 的 经济 转型 过程 …

572 …但 美国 经济 早由 制造业 过渡 到 服务业 …

667 …为 香港 经济 转型 及 高增值 产业 发展 出力 …

721 … 香港 经济 不断 挣扎 转型…

## Others

221 …为 台湾 经济 找到 新动能 …

276 … 大陆 经济 引力大 …

479 … 经济 运行 的 调节 愈来愈 系于 个体 …

172 … 内地 经济 势头 强劲 …

Metaphorical lines of the 'economy' in UKGC\_dec/06 (Chapter 4)

## THE ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM

### a. THE ECONOMY IS GROWING and ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS ARE STAGES IN A LIFE CYCLE

#### GROWTH (25)

57 ion undergraduates per year. With China's emerging economy growing by nearly 11% in the first six months  
 62 implied growth basis," Ms Olney said. The eurozone economy continues to grow and its recovery is likely  
 78 ce the last budget, in spite of a strongly growing economy which should have boosted tax revenues. I  
 138 s of 0.7% in each of the first three quarters, the economy would grow by 2.75% this year. In addition  
 190 been moderate at best. Recent data shows that the economy is growing more slowly than predicted, ex  
 193 n to let public spending grow more slowly than the economy in the coming years, that was exactly wha  
 198 om law. Yet Turkey is unquestionably changing. The economy has grown by a third in the past five years  
 200 er be too much growth, or even just enough. If the economy grew by 2.5% this year, 2.75% next year  
 213 e Treasury to raise its assessment of how fast the economy can grow over the medium term without lea  
 238 Wednesday and raised the trend rate of growth of the economy, allowing him at a stroke to pencil in bi

10 has achieved on public services has been driven by economic growth, which has allowed him to raise  
 12 its predictions. An HBOS spokesman said continued economic growth and rising employment would support

15 hit by environmental taxes or slower than expected economic growth, the report estimates. By 2030  
 17 buying a business in Britain. The rapidly growing economies of China, India and Russia were also behind the surge  
 18 Backstory Thailand was one of Asia's fast-growing economies in the early 1990s and was a magnet for  
 19 cape, if government is serious about investing for economic growth in the north-west, the university  
 22 conomic Forecasting, a third runway would generate economic growth of pounds 7bn per year, while imp  
 24 ward was unexpected - three years of strong global economic growth that filled their seats at high p  
 30 on the health service. The influx had helped motor economic growth and the Bank of England had reported  
 35 forward." It is impossible to deliver the kind of economic growth and prosperity the UK needs without  
 36 llectual ground by arguing that the presumption of economic growth was no longer valid in view of cl  
 40 n's glass is always more than half full in public: economic growth and investment, skills and produc  
 43 mentum through the first half of 2007 due to solid economic growth and rising employment." Separate  
 46 ly is highly regulated and over-protected and that economic growth is sacrificed. That is undoubtedly  
 68 ting: Gordon Brown gambled that people still think economic growth is better spent on public service

#### LIFE CYCLE (20)

69 early cut in interest rates to revive the flagging economy pushed the pound to almost \$1.9850 at one  
 83 certainly would not be true for a mature industrial economy like Scotland's. It is more likely that c  
 189 o control enormous resources across the globe. The economy is stimulated by constant injections of m  
 236 consider the government's real achievements - the economy and social policy - as the fruit of their

2 ding and tax receipts over the ups and downs of an economic cycle. "When Mr Brown raised taxes and s

14 ties and that their closure can trigger a downward economic cycle that leads to the closure of nearby  
 62 kind of thing happening. But now the timing of the economic cycle, crucial to deciding whether the g  
 63 inked. They thought Mr Brown's decision to end the economic cycle in the current fiscal year rather  
 64 ds, is why the pre-budget report declares that the economic cycle will end this financial year with  
 65 n next year because the Treasury has redefined the economic cycle (again). Unimpressed by Mr Brown's  
 66 revenue-raising measures and the redrawing of the economic cycle to give himself room for more tax  
 8 on the region in terms of improving healthcare and economic development. We're very keen to push cro  
 26 e Treasury review of sub-national interventions in economic development. On the one hand, the review  
 38 their postgraduate research feeds directly into our economic development and prosperity. Opening our  
 5 university at the heart of the economic links and economic regeneration taking place. But there is  
 49 supporters believe will act as a catalyst for the economic regeneration of the region. Significantly  
 50 pact on the north- west. This isn't just about the economic regeneration of the area, but the social  
 18 nd, left unsolved, will have dire consequences for economic prosperity and social justice. Big probl

9 responsible capitalism dedicated to reviving local economies. Two years ago, Stacy Mitchell, a sen i  
 26 for helping the UK to compete with the burgeoning economies of China and India. He announced three

b. THE STATES OF THE ECONOMY IS THE PHYSICAL STRENGTH OF A LIVING ORGANISM

Related to the strength:

5 eight on the downside risks from a weaker American economy, slack in the British labour market, and  
 63 the post-war reconstruction of Britain's exhausted economy and shattered infrastructure. But the len  
 132 ir skills out of date by 2020. The UK has a strong economy and record employment, but a below- avera  
 133 said yesterday. In spite of boasting of a stronger economy in yesterday's pre- budget report, which  
 141 eral election - would also be strong years for the economy with expansion of 2.75% in both 2008 and  
 153 wary about raising rates for fear of weakening the economy. So, for now, he'll do nothing and hope t  
 187 all, the prognosis is not good for the dollar. The economy is weak, policymakers seem paralysed and  
 196 te little improvement in the budget deficit as the economy has strengthened this year, the chancello  
 273 her to run. The latest trigger is that a weakening economy means the US central bank, the Federal Re  
 281 showed a net 53% of respondents expected the world economy to weaken next year but few believe that

33 eased overdraft. But by borrowing during a time of economic strength, Mr Brown constrains his room f  
 70 ough to allow optimistic judgments about underlying economic strength to be translated into an increa

Related to the physical appearance:

117 stock market will go back to normal as the overall economy is still in good shape." Analysts said th  
 201 to putting learning at the heart of policy and the economy, from tourism and finance through to cult  
 71 main point was the re-assertion of the underlying economic muscle that has powered the New Labour p



Related to physical motions

34 s due to be decided in September 2007. The British economy is being stifled by antiquated planning  
 48 erhang of US debt, another symptom of the consumer economy running riot. This is not sustainable bu  
 103 we are up against a highly sophisticated marketing economy that never sleeps, but attacks through ma  
 145 David Miliband, is keen for other sectors of the economy to follow. Soon, carbon trading between s  
 151 ain could cut carbon emissions without harming the economy. That was not the message from yesterday'  
 156 from the summer continue to feed through to the economy," said economist Simon Wallace of the Cen  
 166 to have a divisive effect on society and harm the economy." Official data recently revealed that in  
 174 about. But they'd better not be too expensive. The economy, more than anything else, helped Labour w  
 184 start with a chunk of boasting about how well the economy is doing, move on to a long middle sectio  
 239 in an effort to ease congestion and help the economy. After a whirlwind 10 days in the UK, Edd  
 241 Rio the same day the poor unfortunate travelling economy will hand over 3% to the Treasury while t  
 254 st of the economy. It seems improbable that the UK economy could ride out a slowdown in the world's  
 263 terms in nine and a half years. Fears that the US economy is set to slump in 2007 were allayed yest

48 letting us down and we can't see any way out." The economic slump that has gripped the Palestinian t  
 52 on within the Labour party about the limits of the economic liberalism that New Labour so gleefully  
 20 overspend by only pounds 95m. Ms Hewitt called for economies to close this gap. In Leeds, however, t

## c. THE STATES OF THE ECONOMY ARE THE MENTAL STATES OF A LIVING ORGANISM

15 cting land is out of date and inappropriate for an economy adapting to globalisation and different h  
 32 Darling. The theme was the same: that the British economy was in danger from Saudi displeasure. But  
 33 in the UK will still outstrip supply. The British economy is abnormally dependent on air travel, pa  
 35 nched English-language sister channel. The British economy could enjoy an pounds 80bn boost over the  
 53 out radically remaking the heavily state-dependent economy. This was achieved through wholesale priv  
 65 axing lyrical about the emergence of an experience economy, in which thrilling, sensuous or memorab  
 74 early more optimistic than in November. The German economy is experiencing a very strong economic bo  
 115 avert our eyes, December 18). Our country and our economy need migrant workers, the deportation of  
 172 be a dichotomy between education and training; the economy needs both and they are not incompatible  
 173 universities, both at admission and beyond. If the economy needs high-level skills, it also requires  
 181 by our biggest arms firm, BAE Systems, is that the economy is allegedly in danger because the Saudi  
 209 to show how the long-term transport needs of the economy could be dovetailed with sustainable development  
 276 find jobs for the people around Loch Lomond whose economy depends on the incongruous combination of

10 it must be accompanied by the promotion of local economies that meet needs in a sustainable way  
 11 tory, wouldn't it?" A new report claims that local economies in some of the UK's most deprived urban  
 areas lose pounds ...

## d. THE PROBLEMATIC AND WEAK ECONOMY IS A PATIENT

265 t the dollar's level has weak foundations - the US economy is faltering, there is talk of the Fed cu  
 271 ined with a depreciating currency will give the US economy a sickly pallor for a while, hitting the

16 exchange reserves, a reward for the extraordinary economic recovery that followed the big dip. One  
 34 ty because that would have killed off any hopes of economic recovery. Once the markets woke up to th  
 45 worries about another regional crisis, arguing that economic health was much stronger than it was in

4 A difference now is that most of the Asian "tiger" economies have healthy foreign exchange reserves,

Other metaphorical expressions realization the **economy** as a living organism

## Relationship

6 dices are becoming "increasingly divorced from the economies with which they are nominally associate

## THE ECONOMY IS AN OBJECT

### Size, shape and parts

1 rren wasteland. But the marketplace is not just an economic sphere, "it is a region of the human spi  
 9 clear that he was handing over a Rolls-Royce of an economy to his lucky successor. Growth? The figure  
 21 to translate its western success to Asia's biggest economy? Jack Ma, the charismatic founder of Alibaba  
 61 throw of the Russian parliament soon followed. The economic dimensions of Belovezh were no less port  
 76 est growth. So air travel mirrors the wider global economy: the Atlantic, which used to be the most  
 77 the resources at her disposal will be the greatest economy in the end. The salvation of the "lightning  
 116 manufacturing would be "the essential core of our economy". But there was a City of London view, vo  
 124 there is precious little left for the wider rural economy. And the problem is getting worse as a re  
 243 ation, which accounts for three-quarters of the UK economy, was at 3.7%. Good old Clara Furse, chief  
 274 needed is a mixture of state control over the whole economy and enterprising spirit at the individual  
 275 6 to 15.7 MtC - or 24% of the target for the whole economy. According to the House of Commons enviro  
 277 that the housing slump is not affecting the wider economy. The downside risks to growth must be clo

7 sations on price because they don't enjoy the same economies of scale. Local authorities often look  
 8 ill. "As space tourism gets going, it will provide economies of scale. This will get prices down, so  
 14 It does have tremendous advantages, not least its economies of scale and VAT exemption, which have  
 19 esence, diversify operating risks, achieve greater economies of scale and have the financial strength  
 21 retirement saving. A centralised scheme would enjoy economies of scale. It would offer those with only

## Texture and elasticity

49 tch 22 situation of having to tackle a contracting economy whilst inflation is worsening." Despite t  
 64 not benefited from the country's rapidly expanding economy. The Hindu practice of untouchability is  
 182 disaster but it validates people's views that the economy is softening and therefore rates will rem  
 199 ed recession, and that this was the first time the economy had shrunk in three-and-a-half years. By  
 251 will make strong growth a feature of the PBR. The UK economy has expanded even more rapidly than Mr Br  
 252 rs, than to bury it because of past faults. The UK economy expanded at its fastest annual rate for t  
 210 predicting a recession in the next year, with the economy contracting by 0.7% and more than a milli

## Concordance lines showing that the economy is an affected agent

37 ource of Thailand's export problem, and many other economic distortions across Asia. How to persuade  
 85 y preparatory stages shattered a highly integrated economy and was a major cause of the collapse of  
 91 Chancellor's aspiration to make Britain the knowledge economy of the world was followed within 48 hours  
 94 italise shattered businesses and improve the local economy. Last summer, 15 students from Durham spe  
 101 king to pay for it from strangers. The free market economy itself is being subverted by metaphor. A  
 109 unpicked. Challenging it may be, but a measure of economy is overdue in some parts of the organization  
 119 s, can create a healthy mixture of a state-planned economy and private economic initiative. State pr  
 121 farming regime in the interests of the wider rural economy is doubtful. Peter Hetherington writes on  
 128 Soviets, with their 20 million dead and shattered economy, were incapable of doing more than trying  
 140 ow and Stansted expected to add pounds 17bn to the economy. "Without additional runway capacity, Hea

158 th pre-budget report to claim that he had made the economy recession-proof and inflation- free. In w  
 171 needed to support "free" data will not distort the economy. "Neither assumption is likely to be true  
 191 to give out reconstruction contracts. It split the economy into sectors and shared them out among ni  
 203 ng housing bubble is now affecting the rest of the economy. Friday's manufacturing snapshot was a lo  
 211 n increasingly important role as the nature of the economy changes"; "men will not be prepared to gi  
 232 build a third runway at Heathrow would damage the economy and force businesses abroad. With the 18-  
 234 face it is the agricultural harvests that form the economy, and the money has dropped out of the mar  
 261 with Rinker. Investors again had one eye on the US economy, with higher-than- expected jobless claim  
 (274) needed is a mixture of state control over the whole economy and enterprising spirit at the individual  
 (277) that the housing slump is not affecting the wider economy. The downside risks to growth must be clo

Other features of the economy as an object

27 ocial justice was high: one-party rule, inflexible economic structures, ageing leaders and a lack of  
 139 he investment bank. Like Goldilocks's porridge the economy would neither be "too hot" nor "too cold"  
 104 on and regulation of working conditions. The mixed economy is an old dream of the progressive forces

## THE ECONOMY IS A CONTAINER

Few year unless there was a sudden weakening in the economy. Members of the Bank's monetary policy co  
 6 kness is a symptom of deep imbalances in America's economy, in particular a tendency to live on borr  
 18 showed that the labour market in Europe's biggest economy was also improving and consumers were beg  
 19 ng market was spreading across the world's biggest economy. Sterling later fell back slightly to abo  
 22 warnings from Tory MPs of an increase in the black economy. David Heathcoat-Amory said: "You are try  
 23 The government boasts of 2m more jobs in a booming economy, yet British and EU policy lets more attr  
 52 ematic violence found in the street-level criminal economy. They had assumed a symbolic significance  
 56 ngsters seeking to make big money through the drug economy. During the 90s I returned to the neighbo  
 75 says his report, Prosperity for All in the Global Economy - World Class Skills. All the talk about  
 81 icides, racist attacks and accidents in the hidden economy account for many. In the past five years  
 122 e industry, which pumps pounds 240m into the rural economy annually, and is scientifically proven to  
 126 esult was an 80% decline in investment in Russia's economy by the end of the 1990s - and the nation'  
 137 ding, dashing hopes that momentum elsewhere in the economy would outweigh falling housing prices. Da  
 144 istrustful", writes Mr Clark. "His interest in the economy was casual." Contestants on the show, to  
 147 gn investors pumping billions of dollars into the economy. The Bank of Thailand said the drastic me  
 148 ong demand would fuel inflationary pressure in the economy, the British Bankers' Association said hi  
 149 gh there are still disturbing undercurrents in the economy that could shatter the surface calm. The  
 150 gularisation would squeeze out those spaces in the economy that so quickly absorb and attract new mi  
 155 not something froufrou outside of the rest of the economy", said Mr Travers. Overall, the role of m  
 159 , with supporting evidence for the downturn in the economy provided by a 1% decline in construction  
 163 account for around half the overall growth in the economy over the coming years, with the remainder

165 uldn't forget it. But the role of the state in the economy or culture can and should be debated, eve  
 178 half the bonuses given out to directors across the economy. "It's time for a national debate about t  
 179 role that alcohol plays in social life and in the economy. It's just the excessive side that causes  
 180 g market is gradually seeping into the rest of the economy. It seems improbable that the UK economy  
 192 any opportunities for people to integrate into the economy [in Europe]," says Fedwa Wazwaz, a board  
 194 of a domestic rather than export-led surge in the economy have been dashed. A small "boutique" fund  
 195 istics provided evidence that robust growth in the economy has started to have an impact on the UK l  
 197 st year, and the fact that continued growth in the economy has been possible only because consumers  
 204 ar, it does not contribute to the expansion in the economy. Exports, despite the strength of the pou  
 218 ncellor had earned credit for the stability in the economy. But he was leaving problems for his succ  
 222 looking for any further signs of a slowdown in the economy before the US Federal Reserve meeting thi  
 223 dence of a large demand for physics degrees in the economy, as is often suggested by academia. While  
 230 out whether there was enough spare capacity in the economy and boost the chances of a rate rise earl  
 268 autious over possible inflationary risks in the US economy. As it kept rates unchanged at 5.25%, the  
 282 bility for sorting out the imbalances in the world economy. Speaking in Melbourne, Mr King says the

1 s largely manufactured in China and other low-wage economies in East Asia. The label, which boasts o  
 16 t the end of 2005. "We are seeing steady growth in economies and if they continue to grow, our busin  
 22 on of US and European businesses into the emerging economies in Asia and eastern Europe means employ  
 24 o other exchanges in the region and other emerging economies in Africa and Latin America. It could n  
 28 e surpluses being amassed in China and other Asian economies. "Over the past three years, especially



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The operation of the economy as a machine

10 uses labour shortages, it also helps to fuel an economy that is expanding year-on-year by more th  
 30 colossal trade deficit paid for on tick. Britain's economy comes from a similar mould, albeit on a s  
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 279 ionalising this virtual real estate. As usual with economy drives, the proposals are a blend of comm  
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17.the Leitch review of skills, recognition of FE's economic potential should be welcomed by employer

20 nt by a Labour party not previously celebrated for economic efficiency is an added endorsement. What  
 25 counter-intuitive, but apathy is a force with huge economic potential. And it is one that a Labour g  
 3 exam results based on social class of any advanced economy. By contrast, Finland doesn't have the sa  
 266 ssion of these and other recent figures is of a US economy increasing its output at about 2% to 2.5%  
 15 ry's position as one of the most powerful internet economies in the world. The total number of peopl

The economy is a vehicle

143 over the next 30 years. Otherwise, it warned, the economy was on track for "undistinguished mediocr  
 186 This does not leave much room for manoeuvre if the economy is blown off course. For all his success  
 177 ssociation of Estate Agents, says: "Subject to the economy maintaining its current course, we are ex

Collison

247 es to have a significant negative impact on the UK economy," said Stephen Gifford, the firm's chief  
 260 ices, which continued to rise until the unfettered economy duly crashed. Now Gordon Brown and Kate B  
 270 icits, Asian trade surpluses - and insulate the US economy a little from the impact of a severe hous  
 7 leries in Britain, which analyses their social and economic impact. The economic impact of museums i  
 53 ich analyses their social and economic impact. The economic impact of museums is estimated at pounds  
 54 neration in Derry. "There is ample evidence of the economic impact of a university to a region, and  
 55 a substantial decrease in the scale of fraud. "The economic impact of [carousel] fraud continues to  
 41 can grow here at Magee it will have a significant economic impact on the north- west. This isn't ju

Concerning the lever theory

257 th a tighter fiscal policy helped rebalance the UK economy, boosting production at the expense of co

## MOVEMENTS OF THE ECONOMY ARE VERTICAL MOVEMENTS OF ANONYMOUS OBJECTS

28 ems for the new system. Your report (Museums boost economy by pounds 1.5bn a year, December 14) quit  
 36 plementing the white paper would boost the British economy by pounds 13bn a year, while airport cong  
 39 arly 2007, and this will be supported by a buoyant economy, stable interest rates and a continuing s  
 88 the invaders' good intentions and boost the Iraqi economy, which Mr Bremer later insisted had been  
 89 ing 2005 was based on the belief that the Japanese economy was finally emerging from its decade-long  
 96 n areas can create a downward spiral for the local economy, creating "ghost communities" and increas  
 97 se in bus custom, a significant boost to the local economy - and a reduced burden on local rates. Th  
 98 t - have provided a much-needed boost to the local economy and many hundreds of well- paid jobs. But  
 136 llenging", productivity would rise by 0.2% and the economy would get a pounds 3bn boost. However, Lo  
 162 final PBR, Mr Brown gave an upbeat picture of the economy, pledged to invest more in education and  
 169 nouncements on the need for transport to boost the economy obviously impressed ministers. The chance  
 206 t that "Labour can only be new once". But from the economy down, there is much that Mr Brown has no  
 207 ic policy was based on smoke and mirrors. With the economy deep in recession and unemployment headin  
 227 or money, savings used to boost other parts of the economy and the message to BAE workers the same a  
 267 ts status as a global reserve currency; and the US economy has not been mired in recession for two y

2 atement yesterday, warning that the British and US economies were at their peak. Shares in HSBC, Bri  
 23 only to other bourses in Asia but also to emerging economies in Africa and Latin America. Stock market  
 27 n their civilising influence, how they could boost economies and transform people within their commu  
 69 UBS. "Although Mitie would be affected by [any UK economic] downturn, we feel that the services it

## THE ECONOMY IS A BUILDING

4 refer to turn a blind eye because the agricultural economy would collapse without them. "Officially  
 7 sed his successor that he would be in charge of an economy with the strongest of foundations to meet  
 14 of Iraq, but also thanks to the inadequacies of an economy increasingly built on low pay and flimsy  
 17 to deflate world prices and ruin Iran's oil-based economy. Iran says Saudi concerns are misplaced.  
 46 to use the conference to refocus on the collapsing economy and rebuild bridges with western donors w  
 47 llor will stress that Labour needs to build on the economic stability of its first decade. He will u  
 54 does not have the support of an enormous domestic economy and which has prospered mightily in the e  
 61 e largest structural deficit of any major European economy, and real living standards were now falli  
 90 estimated to underpin up to 25% of the "knowledge economy". One is to produce only data the governm  
 100 and laying the foundations for a successful market economy the general had averted a communist take-  
 125 rs seeking to puncture his confidence. The Russian economy is narrowly based, relying almost exclusi  
 134 t of "total war" against nazism and its supporting economy. It must also be seen in the context of t  
 220 them into consuming more, in order to support the economy, but so far to little avail. The British  
 228 se game of avoiding UN sanctions, which ruined the economy and the prosperity of ordinary Iraqis, wh  
 229 e black and Asian businesspeople will underpin the economy, and there will be a change in civic lead  
 256 as not been as prudent as he set out to be. The UK economy could be undermined by external events if  
 259 ould return swiftly to the state of the underlying economy. Retailers are also bleating about an awf

3 funds to Switzerland as a safeguard in case of an economic collapse. The last time the pound was at  
 4 "the razing of the entire edifice of political and economic relations". Such certitudes are now, of  
 67 r for 10 more years. Such hopes were dashed by the economic collapse. In 1983, the first mass protes

## ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

### Advantages

12 he huge contribution made by post offices to local economies as well as local communities. "It also  
 43 orkload. The financial benefits to the health care economy are potentially large. The savings can be  
 114 e activities within the institutions' culture. Our economy, our civic values, our social coherence,  
 will benefit ...

142 compete globally it would have huge benefits for the economy, which would be worth about pounds 80bn o  
 154 council. "Clearly markets still contribute to the economy," says Graham Wilson, chief executive of  
 157 and he argued that more roads can be good for the economy. Road building looks set to go to on. Bar  
 170 contributing \$8.5bn (pounds 4.35bn) a year to the economy. Next month, the US air force will kick o  
 183 ier view of the profession and its benefits to the economy is shared, at least in part, by several o  
 219 we have educated have benefited themselves and the economy, but universities have failed to provide  
 224 assive spending power and attendant benefit to the economy. As the report suggests, museums are chan  
 244 seas students contribute some pounds 5bn to the UK economy. The international demand for places in o  
 245 al students contribute pounds 5bn a year to the UK economy. The income they provide is also vital to

### Disadvantages

226 position will diminish to the disadvantage of the economy and to the advantage of continental hub a  
 248 1.5 million children, obese. Obesity costs the UK economy pounds 8.2bn annually. The countryside is  
 255 MP said the true cost of identity theft to the UK economy could be much greater than the official f

160 e, if we don't improve our roads, it will cost the economy pounds 22bn in 17 years' time. Or whatever  
 161 cer. It shortens life by seven years and costs the economy pounds 7.4bn a year. The Department of He  
 167 of Fair Trading has put a price on the cost to the economy of not making more government data freely  
 237 ge wage per hour, that means sudoku is costing the economy an annual pounds 7.9bn - enough to fund t  
 248 1.5 million children, obese. Obesity costs the UK economy pounds 8.2bn annually. The countryside is

#### ECONOMIC COMPETITION IS A CONTEST

47 tho and Angola - because it has a more competitive economy and poses a more serious threat to Europe  
 92 one-to-the-dogs UK happens to be the fifth largest economy in the world. The programme is a bit marr  
 93 undertook Britain to become the world's fourth-largest economy behind the United States, Japan and Germa  
 106 e winter tourism accounts for 4.5% of the national economy, followed close behind. Also affected wer  
 212 ld-class further and higher education sectors. The economy cannot become world class without the sup  
 5 2015, China, the US and Japan will be the top three economies in the world. Leitch's predictions show  
 25 security and cost of energy supplies as emerging economies began to compete for resources. Over th

#### Noise

24 created in the private sector thanks to a booming economy," said Mr Prasad. "If Singh really wants  
 25 over the military school - evidence of the booming economy - paused only briefly to gaze down at the  
 26 ist. They've provided labour for Britain's booming economy, filling the increasing personal-service  
 27 he growth has been driven by the country's booming economy, as well as the huge number of internet c  
 13 which has ensured that the fruits of his country's economic boom have flowed disproportionately to h  
 44 . The German economy is experiencing a very strong economic boom." Institutional investors are enter

## SPEED

131 rs blame a mix of rising interest rates, a slowing economy and the scandal surrounding the Livedoor  
 146 companies in the support service sector, were the economy to slow." It has raised its price target  
 176 f labour faster than demand. This implies that the economy may have more slack than previously thoug  
 188 the Fed to raise interest rates at a time when the economy is slowing. Other data that spooked the m  
 262 ould continue to focus on inflation risks. "The US economy may be slowing but growth in the rest of  
 264 rall, this is consistent with the view that the US economy is moderating and could prompt a Fed rate  
 72 f the top is the tricky part. One school says a US economic slowdown would do it. Another thinks one

## THE ECONOMY IS A LOCATION IN A JOURNEY

41 ary cuts as part of the drive towards a low carbon economy. "Therefore, today's demonstration of int  
 3 well-established, but increasingly from the tiger economies of south-east Asia such as Singapore, M

## ECONOMIC COMPETITIONS ARE WAR

57 508p, and Xstrata fell 29p to pounds 24.77. On the economic front, public finance figures showed the

## SITUATIONS OF THE ECONOMY ARE LANDSCAPES

42 y and diversity, Birmingham city council The socio-economic landscape in Birmingham will change. Mor

## ECONOMIC PREDICTIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS

246 add up. For a start, Brown's forecasts for the UK economy seemed strangely oblivious to what is hap  
 269 of KPMG, said: "With clouds gathering over the US economy, and squalls in the currency markets, the  
 58 here was no big change in policy, no shocks in the economic forecasts, no political drama. All of th  
 73 cialism could now replace capitalism there without economic disaster. Thus the two peripheries of th

## CONNECTION

11 s while Russia and China, both of which have close economic ties with Iran, have been arguing in fav  
 1 country there is a university at the heart of the economic links and economic regeneration taking p

## OTHERS

67 ices, housing and all. In reality, the non-farming economy is being marginalised, despite the fact t



## Metaphorical lines of the ‘economy’ in HKEJC\_dec/06 (Chapter 4)

## LIVING ORGANISMS

## a. THE ECONOMY IS GROWING and ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS ARE STAGES IN A LIFE CYCLE

## Collocations concerning the growth (增长) of the economy

2…摩根大通 12 月 4 日 发表 「中国 2007 年：经济 稳步 增长 、 调整 货币 政策」…

7…随着 经济 持续 增长…

11…经济 持续 快速 增长…

24…世界 经济 继续 快速 增长 …

30…而 世界 经济 保持 较快 增长 下 找寻 获利 项目 去 投资…

44…中国 经济 能够 持续 维持 双位 数字 增长 …

45…将使 中国 经济 继续 高速 增长 …

50…中国 经济 每年 平均 以 百分之六 的 增长 …

53…FDI 推动 中国 经济 持续 二十八 年 增长 …

54…中国 经济 强劲 增长 …

57…随着 中国 经济 对外贸易 快速 增长…

60…市场 对 中国 经济 增长 前景 充满 信心…

61…主要 是 受惠 人民币 持续 升值 ， 以及 中国 经济 增长 的 神话…

62…中国 经济 增长 强劲 …

63…呢几年 中国 经济 增长 真系 冇得顶 …

85 ... 当时 股市 表现 大大 落后 于 经济 增长率 ...

88 ... 大部分 亚洲 经济 经历 以 年率 8% 速度 增长 ...

90 ... 除了 亚洲 经济 增长 的 吸引力 外 ...

93 ... 明年 亚洲区 经济 增长 预测 为 百分之七 ...

96 ... 预期 今年 经济 增长 可达 百分之六点五 ...

97 ... 均是 今年 经济 增长 的 主要 动力 ...

102 ... 今年 第三季 GDP 按年 增长 10.4% , 令 经济 增长 已 更趋 平衡 ...

107 ... 鉴于 本港 今年 以来 经济 增长 表现 强劲 ...

112 ... 这些 金融 中介 活动 促进 经济 发展 和 增长 ...

114 ... 全年 经济 增长 可达 百分之六点六 ...

115 ... 由于 增长 强劲 , 因此 政府 把 全年 经济 增长 预测 ...

116 ... 预期 全年 经济 增长 百分之六点四...

117 ... 以至 港府 要将 全年 经济 增长 预测 由 原来的 5% , 调高 至 6.5%...

118 ... 经济师 多次 上调 本港 全年 经济 增长...

119 ... 因此 港府 把 全年 经济 增长 预测 由 百分之四 至 百分之五 ...

127 ... 虽然 明年 全球 经济 增长率 进入 放缓期...

128 ... 但 随着 全球 经济 增长 步伐 放缓...

129 ... 理由 包括 全球 经济 增长 放缓 ...

130 ... 由于 全球 经济 增长 放缓 ...

131 ... 基于 全球 经济 增长 步伐 放缓...

132 ... 房地产 价格 可能 大幅 调整 , 令 美国 第三季度 经济 增长 放缓 ...

136 ... 全球 经济 仍将 继续 稳定 增长...

147 ... 其 经济 增长 愈来愈 依赖 出口 带动 ...

151 ... 以 内地 经济 这样 快速 增长 而言 ...

155 ... 主要 因为 内地 经济 继续 增长 ...

159 ... 内地 经济 每年 增长 逾 百分之十 ...

162 ... 展望 未来 两 年 内地 经济 持续 有 双位 数字 增长 ...

163 ... 但 由于 内地 经济 持续 增长 ...

164 ... 包括 人民币 升值 及 内地 经济 强劲 增长 所致 ...

166 ... 加上 内地 经济 增长 依然 强劲 ...

182 ... 面对 美元 弱势 ， 加上 经济 增长 放缓 的 景况 ...

185 ... 加拿大 经济 一直 都 只系 低增长 ...

191 ... 印度 经济 可 保持 GDP年 增长 7至8% ...

201 ... 主要 由于 内地 二〇〇二年 以来 强劲 的 出口 表现 及 经济 增长 ...

212 ... 反映 经济 增长 并非 短期 反弹...

213 ... 经济 增长 仍见 持续 ...

222 ... 台湾 经济 增长 有限 ...

234 ... 第四季 经济 增长 以 年率 计 进一步 放缓 至 百分之二 ...

235 ... 美国 今年 第四季 经济 增长 初步 数据 将于 一月 三十一日 发表 ...

238 ... 依家 轮到 中国 FDI 去 推动 新兴 市场 国家 经济 持续 增长 ...

242 ... 中国 在 经济 高速 增长下 ...

246 ... 面对 目前 美元 在 经济 增长 放缓 疑虑下 呈 弱势

255 ... 估计 香港 、 新加坡 、 马来西亚 、 台湾 经济 最受 呢次 亚洲 地区 经济 增长率 减速 所 影响...

256 ... 一个 国家 或 地区 经济 增长 主要 依赖 四大 要素...

- 284 ... 本港 经济 自 沙士后 全面 复苏 ， 今年 首季 经济 增长 百分之八 ...
- 282 ... 如果 经济 增长 大幅 下跌 ...
- 283 ... 未来 数季 经济 「整体上」 （ on balance ） 将 维持 平稳 增长 势头 等...
- 285 ... 今 美国 第三 季度 经济 增长 放缓 ...
- 286 ... 整体而言 ， 香港 第三季 经济 增长 达 6.8% ...
- 287 ... 本港 第三季 经济 增长 为 百分之六点八 ...
- 288 ... 本港 第三季 经济 增长 百分之六点八 ...
- 336 ... 预期 当地 经济 增长 步伐 放慢 ...
- 339 ... 今年 德国 经济 将以 二〇〇〇年 以来 最强劲 的 步伐 增长 ...
- 341 ... 这方面 对 保持 香港 快速 经济 增长 的 重要性 不言而喻 ...
- 346 ... 但 金管局 仍 赞同 中央政府 致力 把 经济 增长 由 投资 导向 改为 内需 导向...
- 347 ... 中国 政府 的 宏调 政策 将 抑制 经济 过热 增长 ...
- 353 ... 大量 外资 流入 中国 推动 经济 增长 ...
- 358 ... 过去 一年 但睇到 中国 为 提高 质量 而 愿意 放缓 经济 增长 ...
- 366 ... 美国 整体 经济 增长 稳健 ...
- 373 ... 经济 增长率 放缓 令 更多 资金 流入 股票 市场 ...
- 374 ... 经济 增长率 放缓 令 更 多 资金 流入 股票 市场 ...
- 389 ... 股市 上升 刺激 明年 经济 继续 增长 ...
- 390 ... 股市 上升 刺激 明年 经济 继续 增长 ...
- 393 ... 滙丰 日前 调高 本港 明年 经济 增长率 至 百分之五点三 ...
- 394 ... 鉴于 本港 今年 以来 经济 增长 表现 强劲...
- 395 ... 但 随着 全球 经济 增长 步伐 放缓 ， 预期 本港 明年 经济 增长 介乎 百分之四 至 百分之五..

396 ... 预计 明年 经济 增长 百分之五点六 ...

397 ... 该行 预期 本港 明年 经济 增长 百分之五 ...

398 ... 德意志 银行 调低 本港 明年 经济 增长 预测 ...

408 ... 期望 经济 长期 高速 增长 并不现实 ...

431 ... 预期 二〇〇七年 本港 经济 增长 介乎 百分之四点三 至 百分之六 ...

432 ... 统计 数据 虽 显示 本港 经济 增长 「 强劲 」 ...

433 ... 本港 经济 增长 步伐 将 取决于 内部 需求 的 势头 可否 持续 强劲 ...

434 ... 本港 经济 增长 主要 由 出口 及 消费 带动 ...

435 ... 虽然 外需 减弱 将 影响 本港 经济 增长 ...

436 ... 本港 经济 增长 的 速度 可能 放慢 ...

437 ... 本港 经济 增长 连续 十二个月 ...

464 ... 经济 正稳步 向上 增长 ...

473 ... 随着 环球 经济 增长 明年 放缓 ...

486 ... 对于 市场 憧憬 北京 奥运会 带来 的 经济 蓬勃 增长 ...

503 ... 香港 的 经济 快速 增长 ...

508 ... 相信 中国 2006 年 的 经济 增长率 有 8.5% 以上 ...

509 ... 这是 由于 发展中国家 有 更高 的 经济 增长率 ...

510 ... 任何 新的 经济 增长点 ...

511 ... 我们 需要 找寻 新的 经济 增长点 ...

512 ... 由于 明年 美国 及 香港 的 经济 增长 ...

513 ... 且 看看 中国 的 经济 增长 ...

514 ... 香港 今年 的 经济 增长 达 百分之六点八 ...

- 515 ... 应会 继续 推动 香港 的 经济 增长 ...
- 516 ... 较 预期 强劲 的 经济 增长 ...
- 517 ... 越南 明年 将 经历 良好 的 经济 增长 ...
- 518 ... 香港 的 经济 增长 达到 很好 的 目标...
- 519 ...中国 内地 及 香港 的 经济 增长 预测 分别 为 百分之九点五 及 百分之五 ...
- 520 ... 明年 的 经济 增长 将 转趋 温和...
- 521 ...印度尼西亚 、 泰国 及 菲律宾 三国 的 经济 增长 将 予人 惊喜 ...
- 522 ...恒生银行 ( 011 ) 亦 表示 很大 机会 调高 本港 今、明 两年 的 经济 增长 预测 ...
- 523 ... 珠三角 的 经济 增长 迅速 ...
- 524 ...香港 的 经济 增长 达 百分之七 ...
- 525 ... 本港 过去 三年 持续 录得 高于 平均 的 经济 增长 ...
- 556 ... 政府 必须 扩张 投资 及 增加 出口嚟 维持 经济 增长 ...
- 591 ...明年 美国 经济 增长率 只会 放缓 ...
- 592 ... 包括 美国 经济 增长率 有 可能 放缓 ...
- 593 ... 市场 普遍 预期 明年 美国 经济 增长 将 放缓 ...
- 594 ... 美国 经济 增长 在 二〇〇七年 一旦 降至零 ...
- 595 ... 德银 早前 把 明年 美国 经济 增长 预测 由 百分之二点三 下调 至 百分之一点七...
- 596 ... 但 同时 表明 虽然 美国 经济 增长 步伐 放缓 ...
- 597 ... 贝南奇 同时 预测 美国 经济 增长 明年 将 加快 ...
- 598 ... 本港 仍 面对 美国 经济 增长 放缓 ...
- 609 ... 而 经济 增长 预测 则 留待 明年 二月 财政 预算案 发表 时 才 公布...
- 610 ... 而 经济 增长 放慢 可令 通胀 受控 ...

615 ... 惟在 良好 经济 增长 势头 下 , 本港 银行业 全年 发展 不俗 ...  
 633 ... 尤其 系 中国 股票 , 应 进入 股市 跑赢 经济 增长期 ...  
 638 ...明年 越南 经济 增长 可达 百分之七 ...  
 639 ...以 港元计 之 资产 快速 扩张 , 使 货币 供应 增长 远超出 经济 增长 ...  
 653 ... 相信 明年 中国 更 重视 经济 增长 的 质素 ...  
 655 ...阻碍 经济 增长 ...  
 662 ...预期 经济 增长 可 保持 强劲 ...  
 688 ... 香港 经济 持续 增长 ...  
 702 ... 香港 经济 增长 会 维持 强劲 ...  
 715 ... 香港 经济 保持 连续 三年 的 高增长 ...

## Collocations concerning life cycle

### a) ‘cycle’ (周期/循环)

13 ...届时 本港 将一如 上世纪 九十年代初 一样 , 经济周期 向上 ...  
 324 ...有 能力 应付 经济 周期 回落时 的 困境...  
 402 ... 知道 这是 经济 循环 的 影响...  
 407 ... 经济 周期 转折点 可能 明年中 或 下半年 出现...  
 526 ...而在 考虑过 中港 两地 的 经济 周期 模式 及 发展 后 ...  
 177 ... 藉以 「反周期」刺激 经济...

## b) Human life cycle

74 ... 香港 经济 已 进入 黄金岁月 ， 只有 中国 经济 仍 年轻力壮 ...  
 478 ...随着 中国 的 经济 高速 成长 ...  
 501 ...然 中国 的 经济 成长 已 引发 了 国际 分工 体系 结构性 的 移转 ...

## c) ‘Develop’ (发展 )

10 ... 响 经济 发展 初阶 ， 社会 的确 需要 高储蓄率 去 支持 高投资 率 ...  
 12 ... 一旦 经济 发展 成熟 ， 社会 便 需要 高消费率 去 维持 经济 繁荣 ...  
 15 ... 拉动 上海 经济 发展 「 三头马车 」 ： 航运 、 金融 及 先进 制造业 都 急速 发展...  
 29 ... 如果 国际 商会 仍然 对 这个 世界 经济 发展 新形势 视若无睹 ...  
 31 ... 电讯 是 二十一 世纪 经济 发展 的 动力 ...  
 66 ... 随着 中国 经济 发展 改革 步伐 愈来愈大 ...  
 67 ... 中国 加入 WTO 五年 内 ， 成为 中国 经济 发展 最好 的 一个 时期 ...  
 68 ... 反映 香港 在 中国 经济 发展 中 获得 的 优势 ...  
 69 ... 理由 系 中国 经济 发展 重心 由 量 转为 质 ...  
 70 ... 我地 可能 需要 用 全新 角度 睇 中国 经济 发展 ...  
 71 ... 继续 看好 中国 经济 发展 者...  
 76 ... 通过 政府 承担 在 中长期 经济 发展 中 的 职能 和 角色 ...  
 83 ... 还要 视乎 经济 发展 及 企业 未来 获利 的 表现 ...  
 86 ...人的 生活 习惯 通常 落后 于 经济 发展 速度 ...  
 89 ... 预示 亚洲 经济 的 发展 趋势 ...



- 91 ...随着 亚洲 经济 发展 成熟 ...
- 98 ...在 文化 思想 层面 介入 经济 发展 ...
- 106 ...我 相信 以 香港 储蓄率 高企 、 失业率 持续 回落 以及 经济 稳健 发展 的 形势 来看 ...
- 110 ... 但 经济 发展 成绩 都 不差于 香港 ...
- 154 ...加上 内地 经济 蓬勃 发展 ...
- 160 ... 因 内地 经济 正处 急速 发展 阶段 ...
- 167 ... 人民币 汇率 变化 是 内地 经济 发展 的 自然 结果 ...
- 168 ...人民币 汇率 变化 其实 只是 内地 经济 发展 的 一个 自然 结果 ...
- 169 ... 但却 无损 内地 经济 发展 ...
- 170 ... 内地 经济 发展 迅速 ...
- 184 ... 哈萨克 近年 正 加快 经济 发展 ...
- 199 ... 相信 以 香港 储蓄率 高企 、 失业率 持续 回落 及 经济 稳健 发展 的 形势 看 ...
- 202 ... 但 投资者 应该 留意 市场 本身 的 市况 及 经济 发展 ...
- 203 ... 争取 对 信息科技 及 香港 社会 及 经济 发展 有利 的 政纲 内容 ...
- 204 ... 单是 传统 的 民族 认同 及 经济 发展 成就 不足以 把 社会 凝聚 ...
- 205 ...有助 缔造 和谐 社会 及 经济 发展 ...
- 214 ...中国 先 发展 经济 ， 证明 是 成功 的 ...
- 215 ..着力 发展 经济 、 改善 民生...
- 217 ... 要 赚钱 及 发展 经济 其实 有 许多 渠道 ...
- 218 ... 以 其它 大型 金融 中心 的 发展 经济 为例 ...
- 223 ... 此乃 台湾 经济 发展 困境 的 冰山 一角 ...
- 230 ...以 社会 和 经济 发展 的 宏观 视角 看 「香港黑洞」 ...

- 231 ...为 社会 和 经济 发展 种下 不稳定 的 因素 ...
- 232 ... 关系 到 我国 改革 开放 和 经济 发展 ...
- 233 ...更会 严重 打击 消费 意欲 和 经济 发展 ...
- 247 ... 中国 在 经济 发展上 要 本国 人民 和 鼓励 香港人 都来 「抓住 机遇」...
- 248 ...在 经济 发展 的 初期 ， 很多 市民 收入 较低 ...
- 262 ...分别 谈 中国 政治 发展 前景 ...
- 265 ...埋头 经济 发展 ...
- 270 ...经济 发展 初期 ， 生产力 低 ...
- 310 ...57% 的 受访者 将 经济 发展 和 相关 的 贫穷 和 社会 问题 ， 列为 政府 的 施政 重点 ...
- 311 ...经济 的 急速 发展 ...
- 313...但 贫富 差距 、 经济 发展 过分 集中 等 情况 仍然 存在 ...
- 342 ...令人 想到 澳门 为 过去 几年 的 急速 经济 的 发展 背后 实在 是 付出 了 很大 的 社会 代价 ...
- 351 ...指出 经济 发展 有利 民主 制度 的 发展 ...
- 354 ... 推动 经济 发展 ， 特别 是 吸引 外资 来港 开设 总部 ...
- 355 ... 经济 发展 保持 良好 势头 ， 中央 对 曾荫权 及 特区 政府 的 工作 充分 肯定...
- 361 ...便 可凭 行政 效率 、 经济 发展 和 自由 的 社会 气氛 来 替代 政治 民主 的 想法 ...
- 367 ... 并在 内地 的 整体 经济 发展 担当 伙伴 角色...
- 369 ... 对 新加坡 经济 发展 模式 作 以下 批评 ...
- 382 ... 而 欧洲 及 日本 经济 亦 稳步 发展 ...
- 413 ... 本港 经济 高速 发展 ， 在 过去 二十年 增长率 多于 百分之三 ...
- 417 ... 以 当前 本港 经济 稳健 发展...
- 440 ...本港 经济 发展 早已 贫富 两极化 趋 严重 ...

- 441… 以 带动 本港 经济 发展 ， 其中 以 酒店 及 旅游业 最 直接 得益 …
- 442…本港 经济 发展 跟 薪酬 福利 有 直接 的 影响 …
- 443… 本港 经济 发展 已比 亚洲 邻近 地区 城市 发展 为快 …
- 450…当然 重庆 地区 本身 经济 发展 亦不俗 …
- 460… 引入 英国 每个 经济 发展 阶段 的 些少 器用 意念 …
- 463…是否 莱索托 就 完全 没有 经济 发展 的 余地 呢 …
- 467…珠澳 跨境 工业区 是 中央 支持 澳门 经济 发展 …
- 469 …珠澳 跨境 工业区 是 中央 支持 澳门 经济 发展…
- 485… 中国 的 经济 蓬勃 发展 …
- 528…香港 中长期 的 经济 发展 存在 什么 问题…
- 529… 我们 考虑 香港 的 经济 发展 形势 …
- 530…带动 省内 的 经济 发展…
- 531…近年 对 科技 创新 与 企业家 、 发展中国家 的 经济 发展 前景 及 东亚 的 政治 经济 转变 都有 涉猎 …
- 532… 不但 可 带动 本港 的 经济 发展 …
- 533…对于 中国 的 经济 发展 失衡 …
- 534…长年 以来 高速 的 经济 发展 使 城市 的 景观 不断 转变 …
- 535…因此 不认同 贫富 差距 必然 是 坏事 ， 影响 中国 的 经济 发展…
- 536… 就 香港 的 经济 发展 而言…
- 537… 但 今年 亚太区 利好 的 经济 发展 和 市场 环境 …
- 546… 内地 城市 从 一个 由低 往高 的 经济 发展 ， 上升 空间 较大…
- 611… 看到 香港 的 「小 政府 、 少负担 」 而 经济 可以 发展 …
- 641…中国 为了 迎合 经济 发展 需要 ， 近年 大幅 增加 高等院校 学额 …

622 ... 形成 东 、 西部 经济 发展 唔平衡 ...  
 643 ... 内地 近年 经济 发展 有 高增长 ...  
 654 ... 为了 符合 香港 长远 经济 发展 的 资源 分配 格局...  
 664 ...如果 我们 仍然 憧憬 物流业 会 继续 推动 香港 经济 高速 发展...  
 676 ...他们 因为 香港 经济 蓬勃 发展 ， 很容易 便找到 工作...  
 706 ...更了解 信息 科技 对 香港 经济 发展 的 重要 ...  
 707 ...以 目前 香港 经济 发展 的 规模 ...  
 708 ...香港 经济 发展 的 终极 目标 是 什么 ...  
 709 ...认为 有助 香港 经济 发展 ...  
 710 ...而 曾荫权 今次 述职 ， 正值 香港 经济 发展 良好 ...  
 723 ...当时 亚洲 四小龙 经济 发展 迅速 ...

#### d) revive' (复苏 )

48 ... 中国 经济 由 1998 年起 全面 复苏...  
 144 ... 经济 复苏 很难 给 这些 失业 人士 创造 工作 机会 ...  
 178 ... 美国 可能 减息 以 刺激 经济 复苏 ...  
 183 ... 加上 经济 全面 复苏 ...  
 187 ...香港 经济 复苏 已 有 三年半 时间 ...  
 327 ...香港 2003 年 第二季 开始 的 经济 复苏期 ...  
 340 ... 德国 经济 复苏...  
 350 ... 经济 复苏 的 动力 主要 源自 股票场 造成 的 财富 效应 ...  
 379 ... 市场 对 日本 经济 复苏 仍存 争论 ...

416 ...本港 经济 自 沙士后 全面 复苏 ...  
 (419) ... 今年 本港 经济 畅旺 ， 几近 全面 复苏 ...  
 458 ...期 内 欧洲 经济 复苏 及 大部分 亚洲 经济 经历 以 年率 8% 速度 增长 ...  
 470 ...经济 复苏 能否 惠及 这些 人士 ...  
 474 ... 转变 为 现在 经济 全面 复苏 ...  
 504 ... 香港 的 经济 强劲 复苏 ...  
 675 ... 香港 经济 虽自 沙士 疫潮 结束后 已 开始 复苏 ...  
 701 ... 由 2003 年 开始 香港 经济 复苏 已有 三年半 时间 ...

#### d) ‘prosperous’(繁荣 /蓬勃 )

192 ... 即 经济 仍 保持 繁荣 ...  
 198 ... 建制派 以为 藉 专业 功能 吸纳 及 经济 繁荣 ， 就可 稳住 中 产 ...  
 237 ...美元 汇价 贬值 ， 往往 带来 亚洲区 国家 经济 繁荣 ...  
 316 ... 一 次 由 出口 产品 带动 的 经济 繁荣期 1998 年 开始 ...  
 319 ... 储蓄 、 投资 、 消费 三者 必须 平衡 、 经济 才可 长期 繁荣 ...  
 321 ...另一个 十年 经济 繁荣期 系 1968 至 78 年 ...  
 454 ... 环球 经济 自 1982 年 起 进入 最长 一次 经济 繁荣期 ...  
 455 ... 1984 至 97 年 香港 出现 第二次 经济 繁荣 ...  
 471 ... 令 环球 经济 自 1982 年 起 进入 最长一 次 经济 繁荣期 ...  
 489 ...共同 为 缔造 香港 的 经济 繁荣 和 社会 和谐 发挥 积极 作用 ...  
 555 ...社会 便 需要 高消费率 去 维持 经济 繁荣 ...  
 618 ... 令 英国 经济 八十 年代 至今 大部分 日子 皆 保持 繁荣 ...

620 ... 虽然 经济 已 繁荣 十四年...

678 ... 假设 明年 香港 经济 继续 繁荣 下去 ...

73 ...数据 反映 中国 经济 仍然 蓬勃 ...

# c. THE STATES OF THE ECONOMY IS THE PHYSICAL STRENGTH OF A LIVING ORGANISM

## Related to the strengths and weaknesses:

55 ...因 上述 一直系 中国 经济 弱项...

58 ... 就是 中国 经济 如此 强劲 ...

78 ...为 经济 注入 新动力 ...

152 ... 主要 因为 内地 经济 转强 ...

174 ...ECB 既 有 政治实力 ， 亦有 经济力量 ...

175 ...ECB 既 有 政治实力 ， 亦有 经济力量 ...

206 ... 它却 代表 一股 新的 、 先进的 社会 及 经济力量 ...

207 ... 历史上 未见 有政治 势力 及 经济 力量 的 货币 可以 长存...

208 ... 历史上 未见 有政治 势力 及 经济 力量 的 货币 可以 长存 ...

365 ... 推动 资产 管理 业务 的 发展 ， 增加 整体 经济 的 活力 ...

446. ...再加 薪酬 福利 ， 只会 削弱 本港 经济 ...

626 ...不能 因此 说明 经济 实力 的 强弱...

642 ...由于 香港 近年 经济 表现 强劲 ...

## Related to the physical appearance:

### The whole body as a body-part:

266. ...属 外向型 经济 的 本港 将 难以 独善其身 ...

677. ... 香港 经济 自然 也难 独善其身 ...

## Related to physical motions

### Steps

23 ...连年 与 经济 表现 脱节 的 A股 ， 应与 经济 同步 ...

422 ... 随着 明年 本港 经济 步伐 放慢 ...

### Legs

87 ...认同 欧亚 经济 跟 美国 「各行各业」 ( decouple ) 者 数不在少 ...

123 ... 全球 经济 由 高通胀期 走向 低通胀期 、 由 高利率期 走向 低利率期 ...

124 ... 大方向 系 全球 经济 朝一个 真正 环球化 的 经济 走 ...

186 ...但 大方向 系 全球 经济 朝一个 真正 环球化 嘅 经济 走 ...

227 ... 经济 步伐 正式 步入 调整 周期 ...

254 ...并 不合乎 股市 走在 经济 之前 的 铁律 ...

314 ... 中国 政府 希望 经济 由量 走 向质 ...

378 ... 日本 经济 已 步入 老年期 ...

420 ... 本港 经济 由 二〇〇三年起 已迈向 一个 新时期 ...

**Running in a race**

- 188 ...点样 拉近 城乡差距 及 区域经济 差距 ...
- 371 ... 中日 经济 差距 达 五十年 ...
- 372 ...中、日 经济 差距 究竟 有多大 ...
- 616 ...英国 所提供 高附加值 服务业 ， 令 英国 经济 超越 德国 ...
- 623 ... 中国 要在 经济上 追上 美国 、 欧洲 及 日本 ， 最低 限度 需要 五十年 ...
- 634. ... 股市 表现 大大 跑赢 经济 ...
- 651. ... 俄罗斯 封建性 重 ， 经济落后 ...
- 427 ... 本港 经济 已经 走出 低谷 逐渐 复苏 ...
- 645 ... 这些 经济 进步性 在 东方 逆东方 大势 而行 ...

**Bodily movements during travelling**

- 28 ... 世界 经济 周期 正进入 尾声 ...
- 39 ...令 中国 经济 进入 消费性 社会 有 困难 ...
- 51 ...中国 经济 明年 进入 温和 放缓期 ...
- 326 ...今年 5 月 开始 经济 已 进入 高原 状态...
- 387 ... 展望 明年 经济 进入 整固期 ...
- 559 ... 反因 美国 经济 进入 放缓期 令 资金 出现 转移 而 受惠 ...
- 560 ... 反而 美国 经济 进入 软着陆期 ， 令 中国 出口 受压 而 进入 增长 放缓期 ...
- 561 ... 目前 显示 美国 经济 进入 衰退期 的 经济 指标 明显 ...
- 562 ... 美国 经济 进入 软着陆 ...



640 ... 经济 进入 循环 周期 中期 调整 ...  
697 ...香港 经济 已 进入 黄金岁月 ...  
586 ... 即使 美国 经济 急速 下滑 , 背靠 内地 的 香港 , 仍然 较为 稳定 ...  
104 ...令 经济 冲出 谷底 ...

**Standing**

64 ...不断 反映 中国 经济 在 全球 举足轻重 的 实力 ...  
381 ...至今 日本 经济 仍 无法 重新 站起来 ...

**Unifying into the same body**

140. ... 全球 经济 一体化 ...  
141. ...全球 经济 一体化 逼使 企业 不断 革新 改进 ...  
142. ... 在 全球 经济 一体化 及 中国 经济 腾飞 的 前提 下...

**Upper body movements**

549. ... 经济 就是 在 打破 中世纪 式 的 神圣 单元 集权 主体 ...  
695. ... 证明 香港 经济 已 摆脱 1997 年 8 月 的 影响 ...

**Eye (Seeing / looking)**

**PREDICTION/ EXPECTATION IS SEEING**

27 ... 经合组织 在 最新 公布 的 世界 经济 展望中 更 预测  
126 ...正好 反映 明年 全球 经济 展望 存在 不少 欠明朗 的 变量 ...

209 ...从而 决定 应否 调整 货币 政策 立场 及 经济 前景 展望 ...  
220 ... 汇报 台湾 经济 现况 及 展望 ...  
307 ... 企业 的 加薪 幅度 须 视乎 对 经济 前景 的 展望 ...  
391 ... 令 明年 经济 展望 像雾 又像花 ...  
392 ... 关于 明年 经济 展望 ...  
506 ... 对于 明年 的 经济 展望 ...  
699 ... 2007 年 香港 经济 展望 ...  
453 ... 来年 经济 因而 亦应 看高一线 ...  
113 ...「信息 经济」 面对 信息化 和 意识化 的 经济...  
380 ... 日本 经济 又再 面对 通缩 压力 ...  
720 ... 香港 经济 中长期 面对 的 挑战 ...

Mouth (eating)

452 ... 预测 来年 经济 绝对系 吃力不讨好 ...

c. THE STATES OF THE ECONOMY ARE THE MENTAL STATES OF A LIVING ORGANISM

40 ... 导致 国际 贸易 磨擦 及 中国 经济 过分 依赖 出口 的 弊病 ...  
75 ... 代表 今后 中国 经济 不能 再 依赖 廉价 劳动力 ...  
148 ...但 这 不足以 改变 区内 经济 深深 依赖 出口 的 事实 ...

719 ... 今天 新加坡 一如 香港 经济 ， 主要 依赖 的 再唔系 土地 及 劳动 人口 ...

219 ... 台湾 经济 的 根本 挑战 在于 全球化 的 竞争 ...

685 ... 而系 香港 经济 早已 适应 联滙 制度 ...

696 ... 香港 经济 已 作好 大调整 去 适应 呢个 制度 ...

538 ...如果 房地产 大幅 下滑 ， 对 美国 的 经济 及 金融 打击 将 十分 大 ...

600 ... 美国 经济 危危乎 ...

403 ...追求 的 并不单 是 经济 主导 的 物质 富裕 ...

360 ... 经济 主导 选情 ...

108 ... 经济 高度 自由 开放 ...

134 ... 2001 、 2002 年 全球 经济 低迷...

252 ...只要 是 人才 即使 在 经济 低迷 下 仍可 加薪 ...

#### d. THE PROBLEMATIC AND WEAK ECONOMY IS A PATIENT

77 ... 稍为 愿意 为 香港 的 中长期 经济 前景 把脉 的 人

690 ...因此 我们 为 香港 经济 把脉 ， 不是 看 一 、 两年 的 现象 ...

135 ...原因 是 目前 亚洲 以至 全球 经济 仍 十分 健康 ...

439 ... 目前 本港 经济 基调 更为 稳健 ...

490 ... 放弃 整个 社会 的 经济 稳定 与 健康 ...

498 ... 他的 收入 主要 视乎 本地 的 经济 是否 稳健 ...

176 ...因而 出现 经济 金融 内伤 ...

445 ...是否 可 在 股市 、 工资 、 就业 以外 ， 为 本港 经济 再打一口 强心针 ...

569 ...但 美国 经济 疲弱...

## Relationship

21... 争相 就 运动 与 经济 的 关系 高谈阔论 ...

82 ... 随着 香港 与 泛珠 三角洲 之间 经济 及 社会关系 日趋 密切...

189 ... 这是 不同 制度下 区域 经济 合作的 一项 有益 的 尝试 ...

190 ...区域 经济 关系 紧张 ...

370 ... 唔少 贪官 及 商人 将钱 存入 新加坡 ， 同 新加坡 经济 关系 如何 ...

499 ...特区 政府 领导 如何 与 社会 各界 在 后殖民 的 经济 、 政治 、 社会 环境里 重建 关系 ...

717 ...为 促进 内地 与 香港 经济 交流 与 合作 ...

540 ... 两岸 三地 的 经济 关系 愈趋 密切 ...

541 ... 台湾 与 中国 大陆 的 经济 关系 亦 渐趋 紧密...

## Others

80 ... 固定资产 投资 景气 主宰 经济 命运 ...

694 ...他 回忆 这时 香港 经济 并不 富裕 ...

291 ...香港 是 一种 高效率 的 寄生 经济 ...

665 ... 香港 经济 过往 以 地产业 为 龙头 ...

## ADVANTAGES AND DISADANTAGES

22 ... 政治 与 经济 的 功过 既然 无法 折算 相抵 ...

17 ...美元 弱势 并非 不利 经济 ...

426 ...酒税 过高 不利 本港 经济 ...

296 ... 因 消费 增加 对 经济 的 益处 可 延续 至 下一代 ...

300 ...对 广播业 发展 的 影响 及 对 经济 所带来 的 整体 利益 ...

304 ... 增加 港元 货币 供应 ， 短期 对 经济 及 消费 有利 ...

428 ... 导致 本港 经济 ， 尤其 以 零售业 最为 受益...

448 ...但 本港 经济 亦能 受惠 ...

704 ... 惠及 香港 经济 ...

713 ... 但 对 香港 经济 则是 百害 而无 一利 ...

718 ...但 香港 经济 也可能 会 受惠 ...

## OBJECTS

### Size and shape

143 ...因为 当 中国 崛起 成为 全球化 经济 一个 重要 组成部分 时...

363 ... 宏观 调控 在 整个 经济中 扮演 的 角色 将 不再 如 以往般 重要 ...

364 ...对 银行 、 对 中小企 以至 对 整体 经济 都系 好事 ...

488 ... 相对 中国 庞大 的 经济 而言 ， 北京 的 经济 只占 中国 本地 生产总值 的 百分之三 ...

527 ... 相对 中国 庞大 的 经济 而言 ， 北京 的 经济 只占 中国 本地 生产总值 的 百分之三 ...

542 ... 香港 的 经济 体积 小 ...

553 ...但 十二个 成员国 在 政治 上 未统一 ， 经济上 亦 唔见得 一致 ...

554 但 十二个 成员国 在 政治 上 未统一 ， 经济上 亦 唔见得 一致

383 ...但 政府 还 大致 停留 在 旧经济 的 层次 ...

649 ...而是 遍及 经济 、 营 商 、 政治 和 管治 ， 社会 及 文化 思想 的 每个 层面...

### Texture and elasticity

81 ...中日 之间 经济 此消 彼长 ...

145 ...扩大 其 经济 规模 ...

229 ... 而是 集体 与 个体 关系 因应 不同 时期 的 生产关系 和 经济 形态 而 重订 两者 之间 的 关系

241 ... 经济 唔再 扩张 但亦 唔系 收缩 ...

636 ...2002 年起 经济 扩张期 似乎 已结束 ...

## Structure

100 ... 结果 令 经济 结构 更加 扭曲 ...  
 196 ... 政治 民主 的 追求 亦 反映 这一社会 及 经济 结构 的 深层 改变 ...  
 197 ... 应付 新的 社会 及 经济 结构 产生 的 社会 期望 ...  
 332 ...引导 经济 结构 调整 ...  
 547 ...但从 社会 运动 及 社会 、 经济 结构 角度 看 ...  
 679 ... 因为 香港 经济 结构 已 改变 ...

## Changing of the quality

### Turn good (好转)

8 ... 随着 经济 好转...  
 36 ...并在其 任期中 经济 好转...  
 211 ... 反映 经济 好转 将 掀起 转工潮 ...  
 281 ... 如果 经济 好转 了 ， 选民 比 以往 更 热烈地 投票 给 他们 ...  
 315 ... 经济 虽然 好转 ， 但 基于 政治 考量...  
 430 ...近期 本港 经济 好转 ， 港人 消费力 大大 提升...  
 414 ... 当 本港 经济 转好时 便会 通货膨胀 ...  
 405 ...暗示 经济 好转 主要 是 大财团 得益 ...  
 625 ...经济 好转 ， 市场 出现 更多 职位 吸纳 求职者 ...  
 656 ...消费者 口味 随 经济 好转 而 改变 ...  
 689 ...香港 经济 持续 好转 ...

## Turn bad (转坏)

605 ...相信 美国 经济 不会 突然 转坏...

## Concordance lines showing that the economy is an affected agent

26 ... 世界 经济 由 消费 推动 ...

37 ... 不但 推动 中东 经济 及 澳洲 经济 ...

349 ...更 推动 非洲 及 拉丁美洲 经济...

352 ... 投资 、 出口 和 消费 将续 推动 经济 扩张 ...

411 ... 中国 、 印度 甚至 日本 仍 依赖 出口 去 推动 本地 经济 ...

468 ...中国 对 石油 及 金属 需求 ， 不但 推动 中东 经济 及 澳洲 经济 ...

627 ... 更多地 以 调整 存款 准备金 和 利率 的 方式 调控 经济...

628 ...中央 将 采取 紧缩 流动性 的 政策 调控 经济 ...

629 ... 预计 明年 中国 将 采取 更多 金融 措施 调控 经济 ...

456 ... 令 呢次 经济 中期 调整 十分 温和 ...

630 ... 利率 、 滙 率 、 货币 政策 （ 例如 银行 储备 金 多少 ） 乃 调整 经济 的 工具 ...

92 ... 人民币 升值 不会 对 亚洲区 经济 造成 损害性 影响 ...

309 ...加上 中央政府 努力 将 经济 由 出口 、 制造业 导向 改为 内部 消费 导向 ...

345 ...必会 扭曲 经济 及 助长 投机 之风 ...

613 ... 保留 了 英国 本土 也已 遗失 的 自由 经济 ...

619 ... 令 中国共产党 采用 资本主义 制度 去 营运 经济 ...

624 ... 其 原则 为 在 密切 观察 经济 及 物价 的 状况 下...

637 ... 上述 情况 令人 担心 日本 2003 年 第二季起 经济 扩张期 告一段落 ...



Linkage of the economy with other entities (联系)

- 487 ... 探讨 香港 和 内地 的 经济 联系 和 合作 ...
- 156 ... 本港 主权 评级 取决于 政府 财政 状况 及 内地 经济 的 联系 ...
- 410 ...故 投资 在 与 本地 经济 较少 联系 的 其它 国家 或 地区 ...

## CONTAINERS

328 ... 中国 半开放式 经济 ， 造成 垄断 企业 主导 市场 价格 ...

461 ...香港 港英 政府 时代 亦系 响 政治上 无民主 、 经济上 极度 开放...

462 ...经济上 虽然 仍 极度 开放...

173 ...代表 内地 经济 全面 开放 ...

308 ...进一步 对外开放 经济 ...

404 ... 经济中 的 私营部分 才是 创造 新工作 机会 的 主要 驱动力...

261 ... 香港 进入 知识型 经济 ...

278 ...当 香港 与 国内 在 各领域 如 经济 、 行政 、 文化 、 卫生 、 司法 等 发展 合作 关系 时 ...

290 ...政府 的 角色 在 旧有的 「实体经济」中 具体 应做 什么 、 不应做 什么 ， 已近 定论 ...

## Special containers

### scenery

14 ... 遇上 经济 不景...

79 ... 中国 明年 固定资产 投资 景气 ...

240 ... 受访者 对 国家 经济 前景 普遍 乐观 ...

249 ... 美股 因而 在 经济 前景 「看淡」下 屡创新高 ...

305 ... 港人 对 经济 前景 态度 比 之前 乐观 ...

306 ... 港人 对 经济 前景 的 疑虑 终于 一扫而空 ...

384 ...由 早年 经济 不景 时...

409 ... 随着 市民 看好 未来 经济 前景 ...

444 ...但 字里行间 仍 难掩 他 对 本港 经济 前景 的 信心 ...  
 475 ... 当 现在 经济 一片 好景 及 社会 稳定 的 情况 下 ， 更 要 头脑清醒 ...  
 602 ... 由于 美国 经济 前景 不明朗...  
 663 ...系咪 预示 经济 景气 周期 面临 转折 ...  
 680 ...认为 香港 经济 的 中长期 前景 有 极大 的 隐忧 ...  
 711 ...与 各位 关心 香港 经济 前景 的 朋友 交流 ...  
 712 ...九七 后 香港 经济 前景 蒙 上 极大 阴影 ...

## landscape

412 ... 今年 本地 经济 形势 大好 ...  
 691 ...今年 香港 经济 形势 一片 大好 ...  
 692 ... 这个 就是 我们 前瞻 香港 经济 形势 最深 层次 的 矛盾 ...  
 693 ...香港 经济 形势 总体 是好 ...

## environment

95 ... 虽然 今年 经济 环境 良好 ...  
 109 ... 但 经济 环境 却 开放 ...  
 180 ... 加上 经济 环境 良好 ...  
 181 ...加上 经济 环境 好转 ...  
 193 ... 即使 经济 环境 转坏 ...  
 200 ...台湾 相对 上 动荡 的 政治 气候 及 经济 环境 ， 令 集团 决定 缩减 台湾 业务...

243 ...在 经济 环境 良好时 推出 商品 及 服务税 是 最佳 时刻 ...

297 ... 反映 本港 消费者 对 经济 环境 及 就业 情况 忧虑 减少 ...

333 ...只不过 当 经济 环境 相对 较好 时 ...

334 ... 只不过 当 经济 环境 相对 较好 时 ...

335 ...当 经济 环境 真的 很差 ...

421 ... 由于 本港 经济 环境 转好 ...

492 ...香港 的 经济 环境 一定 很不妙 ...

493 ...一个 地方 良好 的 经济 环境...

494 ...即使 在 恶劣 的 经济 环境 下 ...

683 ... 作为 对 纳税人 在 香港 经济 环境 恶劣 时 所作 牺牲 的 回馈 ...

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

Collocations realizing the economy as a machine

Motivate (带动)

- 25 ...各位 应 明白 世界 经济 由 消费 带动 ...
- 505 ... 海洋公园 扩展 计划 将 带动 港岛 南区 的 经济...
- 544 ... 香港 的 经济 与 旅游 在 自由行 及 内地 同胞 来港 旅游 的 带动 下 ...
- 545 ... 大部分 港商 则 拥抱 服务业 带动 的 经济 ...
- 672 ... 香港 经济 起初 是由 出口 所 带动...

Integrate (融合)

- 32 ... 随着 中港 两地 经济 渐趋 融合...
- 35 ... 调整 政策 加强 两岸 经济 融合 ...

Pressure (震动 /压力)

- 250 ... 能在 经济 内外 震动 时 应付 压力 ...
- 251 ...能否 在 经济 内外 震动 时 应付 压力 ...
- 385 ...形成 美元 强势 时 经济 受压 ...

Vehicle

- 1 ...到1978 年 经济 才 再次 返回 正轨 ...

Collision

632 ...最 忧虑的 是 九七 后 香港 的 资本主义 经济 会 受到 冲击...

Stability

- 9 ...随着 经济 回稳 、 政府 收入 增加 ， 现在 赤字 不但 消失 ...
- 20 ... 财政 稳健 与 经济 稳定 之间 ， 如要 抉择 ， 宁要 政府 的 财政 稳定 与 健康 ...
- 120 ... 1978 年 邓小平改革 开放 政策 ， 引发 全球 经济 重新 走向 平衡 ...
- 137 ... 在 全球 经济 不平衡 下...
- 138 ...试图 把 泰国 的 困局 与 全球 经济 不平衡 捆绑 在 一起 ...
- 139 ... 最后 全球 经济 一定 变得 较平衡 ...
- 210 ...反映 经济 状况 较之前 稳固 ...
- 337 ...主要 是 恐怕 金融 的 波动 可 影响 经济 稳定 ...
- 418 ...由于 金融 为 本港 经济 支柱 ， 使 本港 经济 相当 稳定 ...
- 429 ... 明年 本港 经济 将 维持 稳定 ...
- (439) ... 目前 本港 经济 基调 更为 稳健 ...
- (490) ... 放弃 整个 社会 的 经济 稳定 与 健康 ...
- (498) ...他的 收入 主要 视乎 本地 的 经济 是否 稳健 ...

Transition (转型)

- 3 ...经济 转型后 谁受惠 、 谁受害 已 十分 明显...
- 42 ... 今年起 中国 经济 转型期 似乎 有八十年代 香港 咁好彩 ...
- 157 ... 而是 有助 内地 经济 由 出口型 转为 消费型 ...

158 …而是 有助 内地 经济 由 出口型 转为 消费型 云云…

165 …既然 内地 经济 将由 「出口型 转为 消费型」 …

194 …在 资源 调配 运用 及 经济 转型 上 ， 政府 担当 领导 的 角色 …

226 … 中国 由 劳工 密集型 经济 转向 资金 密集 及 高科技 含量 经济 …

259 … 也令 我们 的 知识型 经济 转型 ， 并不成功 …

260 … 而是 中央 希望 内地 由 出口型 经济 转为 消费 型 经济…

263 …由于 本港 转型 为 知识型 经济…

264 … 中央 希望 内地 由 出口 型 经济 转为 消费型 经济 …

293 … 中国 由 劳工 密集型 经济 转向 资金 密集 及 高科技 含量 经济 …

362 …响 整个 经济 转型 过程 中 …

466 … 为了 满足 经济 转型 对 人才 的 需求 …

480 … 认为 香港 的 经济 转型 仍 没有 定论 …

481 … 香港 将要 再一次 面对 痛苦 的 经济 转型 过程 …

572 …但 美国 经济 早由 制造业 过渡 到 服务业 …

667 …为 香港 经济 转型 及 高增值 产业 发展 出力 …

721 … 香港 经济 不断 挣扎 转型…

## Others

221 …为 台湾 经济 找到 新动能 …

276 … 大陆 经济 引力大 …

479 … 经济 运行 的 调节 愈来愈 系于 个体 …

172 … 内地 经济 势头 强劲 …

## TEMPERATURE

- 41 …当前 的 中国 经济 过热 始于 二〇〇四年 …
- 149 …回顾 今年 的 内地 经济 ， 除了 多个 领域 出现 过热 …
- 322 … 上述 三大 问题 在 八、九十 年代 经济 过热 时期 都 「不成问题」…
- 647 … 印度 已 进入 经济 过热 …
- 666 … 香港 经济 过热期 减息 ， 引发 资产 升值潮 …
- 703 … 香港 经济 因 内地 因素 而 过热…
- 267 …外围 经济 无可避免 出现 降温 及 周期性 放缓 …
- 357 …美国 房地产 市道 显著 放缓 ， 经济 无疑 已 降温…
- 105 …香港 以 经济 旺盛 名 于世 …
- 122…加上 全球 经济 畅旺 …
- 150 … 随着 本港 及 内地 经济 进一步 兴旺 …
- 386 … 美元 弱势 时 经济 兴旺 …
- 419 … 今年 本港 经济 畅旺 ， 几近 全面 复苏 …
- 465 …中港台 经济 畅旺 ， 除了 带动 三地 商机 发展 外 …
- 477 … 由于 经济 持续 兴旺 …
- 621 … 经济 向好 使 零售 市道 表现 畅旺 …

## SPEED

- 125 …全球 经济 开始 放缓 等 忧虑 影响 着 投资 情绪 …



239 ...一年后 亚洲区 国家 经济 大多数 放缓 ...

298 ...企业 对 经济 放缓 的 预期 将 导致 几个 特点 ...

401 ...经济 放缓 导致 信贷 周期 见底 ...

459 ...亦 抵销 了 欧美 经济 放缓 对 商品 需求 的 影响 ...

472 ...环球 经济 放缓 止于 明年 上半年 ...

543 ...明年 全球 的 经济 主调 将是 放缓 ...

566 ...在 美国 经济 继续 放缓 下 , 油价 于 2007 年 将在 现水平 徘徊 ...

570 ... 经济 显著 放缓 的确 会 导致 全球 需求 转弱 ...

573 ... 虽然 美国 经济 放缓 ...

574 ... 由于 美国 经济 放缓...

575 ... 市场 预期 美国 经济 放缓 已有 一段 日子 ...

576 ... 美国 经济 放缓 加上 双赤 问题 严峻 ...

577 ...由于 投资者 与 企业 可能 对 美国 经济 放缓 的 预期 ...

578 ... 今年 美国 经济 放缓 的 讯号 加强 ...

579 ... 美国 经济 放缓 及 油价 下跌...

580 ... 故 美国 经济 放缓 对 这些 国家 的 负面 影响 ...

581 ...足以 弥补 本港 因 美国 经济 放缓 所受 的 影响 ...

582 ... 美国 经济 放缓 影响 全球 资金 流向 ...

583 ... 主要 受 全球 尤其 是 美国 经济 放慢 影响 ...

584 ... 增长 步伐 将 跟随 美国 经济 放慢 ...

585 ...随着 美国 经济 持续 放缓 ...

588 ... 因此 市场 认为 美国 经济 将 持续 放缓 ...  
589 ... 但 普遍 预期 明年 美国 经济 将 放缓 ...  
599 ... 美国 经济 只是 放缓 ， 并不会 陷入 衰退 ...  
607 ... 相信 即使 美国 经济 一如所料 在 明年 加剧 放缓 ...  
659 ... 面对 经济 持续 放缓 ...  
661 ... 由于 预期 经济 放缓 而 减缩 营运 开支 ...

BUILDING

Pillars

257 ... 唔少 更 成为 地方 经济 支柱 ...  
272 ... 但 政府 晓得 这是 城市 赖以 生存 的 两大 经济 支柱 之一 ...  
273 ... 就是 香港 过分 倚重 现在 的 四大 经济支柱 ...  
344 ... 中国 讯息 通讯业 已 成为 经济 支柱 ...  
400 ... 内地 轿车 需求 及 房屋 需求 又 继续 支持住 明年 经济 ...  
423 ... 由于 金融 为 本港 经济 支柱 ...  
451 ...市场 深深 忧虑 这 两条 经济 支柱 一沉不起 ...  
500 ... 香港 的 经济 支柱 面对 不同 程度 的 竞争 ...  
551 ... 令 科技 产业 能 成为 香港 第五 经济 支柱 ...  
646 ... 一旦 这些 经济 支柱 面对 更激烈 的 竞争  
652 ... 房地产 是 美国 的 重要 经济 支柱 ...  
681 ... 把 我们 产业 提升 为 香港 经济 的 第五 支柱 ...  
686 ...香港 经济 支柱 的 相对 竞争力 ， 都 会有 不同 程度 的 下降 ...

Others

- 146 ... 右派 只讲 其 经济 建设...
- 225 ... 人类 自 工业革 后 ， 经济 向 西方 国家 倾斜 维持 二百五十 年...
- 325 ... 更需 一段 时间 才能 建立 经济 规模 ...
- 377 ...第二次 世界大 战 后 日本 经济 由 接近 崩溃 ...

LOCATION

- 258 ... 中国 应走 企业 主导型 经济 ...
- 329 ... 中国 将 一步 一步 走向 日本式 经济 ...

FLYING 飞

- 43 ... 在 全球 经济 一体化 及 中国 经济 腾飞 的 前提 下 ...
- 153 ...足以 配合 内地 经济 起飞 成为 另一批 受惠者...
- 244 ...在 经济 急速 起飞 的 印度 和 中国...
- 275 ...如今 大陆 经济 起飞 ...
- 303 ... 说明 美国 对 经济 已经 起飞 的 中国 的 重视 ...
- 482 ...若说 香港 在 七 、 八十 年代 的 经济 起飞 是 一个 经济 奇迹 ...
- 668 ... 七十 年代 香港 经济 起飞 ...
- 669 ... 劳动力 成为 香港 经济 起飞 的 基础 ...

670 ... 香港 经济 起飞 ...  
671 ...七十年代 香港 经济 起飞 ...

LANDING 著陆

46 ... 甚至 导致 中国 经济 硬著陆 ...  
279 ...经济 软着陆 ， 美国 利率 和 美元 未必 如 市场 看得 这样淡 ...  
312 ...尽管 经济 软着陆 的 预期 渐高 ...  
399 ... 仍 相信 美国 明年 经济 会 软着陆 ...  
557 ... 美经济 软着陆 明年 下半年 始 减息 ...  
563 ... 这种 乐观 情绪 建基于 美国 经济 「软着陆」...  
567 ...相信 投机者 在 美国 经济 硬着陆 之前 并 不敢 贸然 向 港币 下手 ...  
571 ...很 视乎 美国 经济 是否 硬着陆 ...  
590 ...以及 令 美国 经济 完成 软着陆 ...  
603 ...令 美国 经济 出现 软着陆 而 宣布 减息 ...  
295 ... 但 对 经济 软着陆 的 信心 并未 动摇 ...

VERTICAL MOVEMENTS OF ANONYMOUS OBJECTS

Upward movements

18...完全 不理 经济 波动 与 市场 运作 的 起伏 ...  
38 ...不致 对 中国 经济 造成 过度 波动 ...

49 ... 建立 海外 生产力 去 减少 受 中国 经济 波动 周期 的 影响 ...

568 ... 美国 经济 短期内 波动 难免...

657 ... 由 社会 自行 面对 经济 起伏 的 调整 ...

658 ... 由 民间 社会 的 企业 与 个人 面对 经济 起伏 的 生死 调整 ...

56 ... 故 预期 中国 经济 将于 明年初 反弹 ...

101 ... 可以 令 经济 崛起 ...

99 ... 可以 令 经济 崛起 ， 也 可以 令 经济 衰败 ...

161 ... 内地 经济 、 政治 及 社会 状况 不断 提升 ...

171 ... 近年 内地 经济 及 赚钱 能力 提升 ...

224 ... 即 股市 同 经济 同步 上升 ...

289 ... 是 市场 力量 在 宏观 经济 发展 中 ， 可以 令 经济 崛起 ...

550 ... 美国人 掌握 标准 ， 站在 经济 最高端...

722 ... 1997 年后 香港 经济 上升 周期 已 结束 ...

## Downward movements

330 ... 才可 引发 经济 衰退 ...

356 ... 经济 衰退 便 逼在眉睫 ...

376 ... 欧洲 及 日本 经济 立即 陷入 衰退 ...

604 ... 成功 阻止 美国 经济 出现 衰退 ...

635 ... 经济 衰退 及 调整 的 压力 由 企业 及 社会 承受 ...

648 ... 失控 的 升值 幅度 将 造成 经济 严重 衰退...

650 ... 可以 避免 经济 出现 衰退 ...  
133 ...全球 经济 出现 衰退 机会 唔大 ...  
268 ...美国 联储局 政策 制订者 亦担心 通胀率 多于 经济 衰退 ...  
65 ... 中国 经济 周期 开始 向下 ...  
280 ...如果 经济 状况 下降 了...  
587 ... 美国 经济 已由 第一季 升 百分之五点六 ， 下降 至 第二季 的 升幅 只有 百分之...  
606 ... 因为 美国 经济 下调 幅度 极之 有限 ...  
700 ...一度 令 香港 经济 大幅 回落 ...

Other directions

Towards good

52 ...近期 中国 经济 持续 向好...  
424 ... 加上 今年 本港 经济 持续 向好 ...  
425 ... 这是 本港 经济 持续 向好...  
438 ... 本港 经济 基调 向好...  
449 ...本港 经济 于 二〇〇七年 将 继续 向好 ...  
644 ...本港 近年 经济 一直 向好 ...  
705 ... 香港 经济 向好 ...

DYNASTY

16 ... 经济 盛衰 通常 对 竞选 结果 有 举足轻重 的 影响 ...  
292... 香港 经济 兴衰 已跟 内地 密不可分 ...  
491...但 他们 的 收入 与 资产 财富 却 随着 回归前 的 经济 盛世 而 节节上升 553 ...  
682 ... 推出 自由行 和 更 紧密 经贸 关系 政策 ， 目的 都是 匡扶 香港 经济 ...  
714 ...香港 经济 兴衰 已 跟 内地 密不可分 ...

ASSESSMENT

Performance (表现)

4 ... 随着 经济 表现 理想 ， 整体 劳工 需求 上升 ...  
19... 连年 与 经济 表现 脱节 的 A 股 ， 应 与 经济 同步...  
195 ... 其 股市 及 经济 表现 均很 突出 ...  
236 ... 情况 会否 持续 则 视乎 其它 国家 经济 表现 ...  
320 ...2002 至 05 年 经济 表现 良好 ...  
388 ...对于 内地 明年 经济 表现 ， 安德森 表示 乐观 ...  
406 ... 简介 香港 的 最新 经济 表现 ...  
415 ... 考虑 到 目前 本港 经济 表现 、 银行业 经营 状况 ...  
447 ...整体 来说 ， 本港 经济 今年 下半年 表现 出色 ...  
476 ... 由于 经济 表现 比 预期中 理想...

483 … 对 意大利 夺冠后 的 经济 表现 便 未作 交代 …

484 … 回顾 2006 年 全球 的 经济 表现 ， 整体 也 算是 优于 预期 …

564 … 美国 经济 表现 比 预期 理想 …

565 … 美国 经济 表现 良好 …

608 … 美国 经济 1990 年 起 表现 优于 欧洲 及 日本 …

617 … 过去 十五 年 英国 经济 成功 证明 浮动 滙率 机制 较 联滙 制度 （ 或 挂鈎 ） 好 …

673 … 加上 香港 经济 表现 强劲 …

674 … 香港 经济 表现 被 流动资金 及 资产 市场 波动 所 放大 …

687 … 香港 经济 持续 表现 良好 …

## Improve (改善)

5 … 随着 经济 改善 ， 消费者 比 以往 愿意 花费 …

6 … 随着 经济 改善 ， 置业 人士 承受 利率 波动 的 能力 有所 提升 …

84 … 牛市 二期 经济 响 改善 中 股市 反复 向上 …

299 … 调查 机构 遂把 德国人 对 经济 改善 寄予 厚望 …

359 … 香港 各方面 均有 明显 进展 ， 包括 政治 、 经济 、 民生 也有 很大 进展 …

## LIQUID

323 … 因此 他 并 不认为 本港 将 重演 九十 年代 经济 出现 泡沫 …

495 … 届时 会否 引发 新一 轮 在 保值 借口 下 的 炒风 、 形成 新 的 经济 泡沫 …



496 ... 亚洲 金融 风暴 刺破 香港 的 经济 泡沫 ...

348 ... 如 人人 储蓄 唔 投资 ， 经济 便 一潭死水 ...

497 ...利用 中国 的 经济 泉源 ， 为 台湾 经济 找到 新 动能 ...

103 ...令 外资 不断 涌入 香港 ， 令 经济 出现 高度 流动性 ...

## WAR

47 ... 废掉 国际 投机者 可以 冲击 中国 经济 的 重要 战略 渠道 ...

72 ...中国 经济 仲奏紧 「高歌猛进」 ...

457 ...在 另一边厢 ， 欧洲 经济 「气势如虹」...

## GAMBLE

716 有关 当局 不应 再以 香港 经济 作为 港元 与 美元 挂鈎 的 赌注 ...

Mixed metaphors observed in the concordance lines of the 'economy' in UKGC\_dec/06 (Chapter 4)

#### Organic + mechanistic metaphors

10 has achieved on public services has been driven by economic growth, which has allowed him to raise  
 6 weakness is a symptom of deep imbalances in America's economy, in particular a tendency to live on borrr  
 260 which continued to rise until the unfettered economy duly crashed. Now Gordon Brown and Kate B

#### Organic + object metaphors

35 forward." It is impossible to deliver the kind of economic growth and prosperity the UK needs without  
 68 Gordon Brown gambled that people still think economic growth is better spent on public service  
 128 Soviets, with their 20 million dead and shattered economy, were incapable of doing more than trying

#### Organic + building metaphors

12 its predictions. An HBOS spokesman said continued economic growth and rising employment would support  
 70 to allow optimistic judgments about underlying economic strength to be translated into an increa  
 71 main point was the re-assertion of the underlying economic muscle that has powered the New Labour p  
 209 to show how the long-term transport needs of the economy could be dovetailed with sustainable development

#### Organic + war metaphors

14 ties and that their closure can trigger a downward economic cycle that leads to the closure of nearby

34 ty because that would have killed off any hopes of economic recovery. Once the markets woke up to th

Organic + sound metaphors

13 which has ensured that the fruits of his country's economic boom have flowed disproportionately to h

Mechanic +sound metaphors

27 he growth has been driven by the country's booming economy, as well as the huge number of internet c

The analysis of the mixed metaphors by a blending analysis:

Concordance lines	Mixed metaphors	Salient meanings of the mixed metaphor
10 Most of what Mr Brown has achieved on public services has been <u>driven</u> by <u>economic growth</u> ...	organic + mechanistic metaphors: organic metaphor: economic growth mechanistic metaphor: has been driven	The mixed metaphor focuses on the power of the economic growth and the mechanistic drive.
6 ...latest bout of weakness is <u>a symptom</u> of <u>deep imbalances</u> in America's economy...	organic + mechanistic metaphors: organic metaphor: symptom mechanistic metaphor: deep imbalances	Both of the terms 'symptom' and 'imbalances' refer to problems of the economy.
260 ... which continued to rise until <u>the unfettered economy</u> <u>duly crashed</u> ...	organic + mechanistic metaphors: organic metaphor: unfettered economy mechanistic metaphor: crashed	Both of the terms 'unfettered' and 'crashed' imply a meaning of 'uncontrolled' which has led to damaging consequences
35 ... It is impossible to <u>deliver</u> the kind of <u>economic growth</u> and prosperity the UK needs without <u>support</u> of higher education...	organic + object + building metaphors: organic metaphor: economic growth object metaphor: deliver building metaphor: support of	Both of the terms 'deliver' and 'economic growth' focus on the money to be spent which is important ('support') for the higher education
68... Gordon Brown gambled that people still think <u>economic growth</u> is <u>better spent on</u> public service...	organic + object metaphors organic metaphor: economic growth object metaphor: is better spent on	Both of the terms 'economic growth' and 'is better spent on' focus on the use of money which is conventionally described as an object.
128 ...Soviets, with their 20 million <u>dead</u> and <u>shattered economy</u> , were incapable of doing more than trying	organic + object metaphors organic metaphor: dead economy object metaphor: shattered economy	Both of the terms 'dead' and 'shattered' imply that the economy is totally damaged.
12 An HBOS spokesman said continued <u>economic growth</u> and rising employment would <u>support</u> the housing market...	organic + building metaphors organic metaphor: economic growth building metaphor: would support	The mixed metaphor focuses on the power of the 'economic growth' as the power of the strong pillars to support a building('the housing market').

70 ... to allow optimistic judgments about <u>underlying economic strength</u> to be translated into an increased overdraft...	organic + building metaphors organic metaphor: economic strength building metaphor: underlying	The mixed metaphor focuses on the power of the 'economic growth' as the power of the strong pillars to support a building('the housing market').
71 ...the re-assertion of the <u>underlying economic muscle</u> that has powered the New Labour project...	organic + building metaphors: organic metaphor: economic muscle building metaphor: underlying	The mixed metaphor focuses on the power of the muscles as the power of the strong pillars to support a building('the housing market').
209 ...to show how the long-term <u>transport needs of the economy</u> could <u>be dovetailed</u> with sustainable development...	organic + building metaphors: organic metaphor: needs of the economy mechanistic metaphor: could be dovetailed	(Please refer to Chapter Four for a detailed explanation)
14... their closure can <u>trigger a downward economic cycle</u> that leads to the closure of nearby shops and businesses...	organic + war metaphors: organic metaphor: economic cycle war metaphor: trigger	The mixed metaphor focuses on the harm of a downward economic cycle and the harm of gun shooting
34... because that <u>would have killed off any hopes of economic recovery</u> ...	organic + war metaphors: organic metaphor: economic recovery war metaphor: killed off	Both of the terms 'killed off' and 'economic recovery' focus on the 'life' of the economy. However the former means the <i>loss</i> of the life whereas the latter means the <i>regaining</i> of life.
13 ...which has ensured that <u>the fruits</u> of his country's <u>economic boom</u> have <u>flowed</u> disproportionately...	organic + sound + liquid metaphors: organic metaphor: the fruits sound metaphor: economic boom	Both of the terms 'fruits' and 'economic boom' refer to happy, positive situations. However, the fruits grow in an imbalanced way and thus have brought a negative effect ('flow disproportionately'). Conventionally, a liquid metaphor (as in 'flow') in economic discourse carries negative evaluations.
27... the growth <u>has been driven by the country's booming economy</u> ...	mechanistic + sound metaphors: mechanistic: has been driven by sound: booming economy	The mixed metaphor focuses on the power of an economic boom and the power of the mechanistic drive.

## Mixed metaphors observed in the concordance lines of the ‘economy’ in HKEJC\_dec/06 (Chapter 4)

### Organic + mechanistic metaphors

615 ... 惟在 良好 经济 增长 势头 下 ， 本港 银行业 全年 发展 不俗 ...

439 ... 目前 本港 经济 基调 更为 稳 健 ...

490 ... 放弃 整个 社会 的 经济 稳定 与 健康 ...

498 ... 他的 收入 主要 视乎 本地 的 经济 是否 稳 健 ...

### Organic + object metaphors

633 ... 尤其 系 中国 股票 ， 应 进入 股市 跑赢 经济 增长期 ...

### Container + object metaphors

223 ... 此乃 台湾 经济 发展 困境 的 冰山 一角 ...

### Organic + speed metaphors

66 ... 随着 中国 经济 发展 改革 步伐 愈来愈大 ...

### Organic + colour metaphors

249 ... 美股 因而 在 经济 前景 「看淡」下 屡创新高 ...

### Emotion + landscape metaphors

680 ...认为 香港 经济 的 中长期 前景 有 极大 的 隐忧 ...

**Building + flying metaphors**

669 ... 劳动力 成为 香港 经济 起飞 的 基础 ...

**Building + landing metaphors**

563 ... 这种 乐观 情绪 建基于 美国 经济 「软着陆」...

**Organic + mechanistic metaphors**

231 ...为 社会 和 经济 发展 种下 不稳定 的 因素 ...

Concordance lines	Mixed metaphors	Salient meanings of the mixed metaphor
615 ... 惟在 良好 经济 增长 势头 下 , 本港 银行业 全年 发展 不俗 ... (...but under the <u>good momentum</u> of <u>economic growth</u> , the local banks has a favourable development this year...)	organic + mechanistic metaphors: organic metaphor: economic growth mechanistic metaphor: momentum	The mixed metaphor focuses on the power of the economic growth and the momentum.
439 ... 目前 本港 经济基调 更为 稳 健 ... (...at the moment, the fundamentals of the <u>Hong Kong economy</u> are more <u>stable and healthy</u> ...)	organic + mechanistic metaphors: organic metaphor: stable mechanistic metaphor: healthy	Both of the terms 'stable' and 'healthy' carry a positive evaluation of the economy.
490 ... 放弃 整个 社会 的 经济 稳定 与 健康 ... (...abandoned the <u>stability</u> and <u>health</u> of the economy of the whole society...)	organic + mechanistic metaphors: organic metaphor: stability mechanistic metaphor: health	Both the terms 'stability' and 'health' focus on the positive development of the economy.
498 ... 他的 收入 主要 视乎 本地的经济 是否 稳 健 ... (...his income depends on whether <u>the local economy</u> is <u>stable and healthy</u> ...)	organic + mechanistic metaphors: organic metaphor: stable mechanistic metaphor: healthy	Both of the terms 'stable' and 'healthy' carry a positive evaluation of the economy.
633 ... 尤其 系 中国 股票 , 应 进入 股市 跑赢 经济 增长 期 ... (...especially the Chinese stock, it should have entered the period of <u>the stock running faster and winning</u> the economic growth...)	organic + object+ racing metaphors: organic metaphor: economic growth race metaphor: runs faster and win	The mixed metaphor focuses on the competition between the performance of the stock and the economy. Their competition resembles a race in which every athlete runs as fast as they can to win.
223 ... 此乃 台湾经济发展 困境 的 冰山 一角 ... (... this is <u>the tip of an iceberg</u> of the <u>trapped situation</u> of economic development of the Taiwan economy...)	container + object metaphors container metaphor: trapped situation(困境) object metaphor: tip of an iceberg	Both of the terms 'trapped situation' and 'tip of an iceberg' focus on how huge the problem of the Taiwanese economy is.
66 ... 随着 中国 经济发展 改革 步伐 愈来愈大 ... (... after <u>the reform steps</u> of <u>Chinese economic development</u> has <u>become bigger and bigger</u> ...)	organic + object+speed metaphors: organic metaphor: economic development speed metaphor: reform steps	All three terms focus on the progress and the positive side of the entities.



	object metaphor: bigger and bigger	
680 ...认为 香港 经济 的 中长期前景 有 极大 的 隐忧 ... (...thinks the <u>hidden worries</u> of 'the mid- to long-term scenery of the Hong Kong economy ahead' is big...)	emotion + scenery metaphors emotion metaphor: hidden worries scenery metaphor: scenery ahead	Protasis of the scenery metaphor ( <u>the mid- to long-term scenery of the Hong Kong economy ahead</u> (中长期前景) is not good) Apodosis of the emotion metaphor (people <u>have hidden worries</u> (隐忧) of the future of the Hong Kong economy) The protasis and the apodosis of these two metaphors are blended.
669 ... 劳动力 成为 香港经济 起飞 的 基础 ... (...the labor force becomes the <u>foundation</u> for the <u>taking off</u> of the Hong Kong economy...)	building + flying metaphors: building metaphor: foundation flying metaphor: take off	Both of the terms 'foundation'(基础)and 'taking off'(起飞)focus on the positive side of the economy. 'Taking off' implies the economy is progressing and a 'foundation' is important to buildings.
563 ... 这种 乐观 情绪 建基于 美国 经济 「软着陆」... (...this kind of optimistic emotion <u>is built on</u> a 'soft landing' by the <u>USA economy</u> ...)	building + landing metaphors: building metaphor: economy recovery landing metaphor: soft landing	Both of the terms 'built on'(建基) and 'soft landing'(软着陆)focus on the positive side of the economy. A 'soft landing' is good for the global economy and a 'foundation' is important to buildings.
231 ...造成社会不公， 为 社会 和 经济发展 种下 不稳定 的因素 ... (...caused unfairness in society, this <u>has planted instability</u> in <u>economic development</u> and society...)	organic + mechanistic metaphors: organic metaphor: has planted mechanistic metaphor: instability	The full sentence of the organic metaphor ( <u>this has planted</u> (种下) the negative results <u>in the economic development and the society</u> ) The full sentence of the mechanistic metaphor (this has led to the <u>instability</u> (不稳定) in the economic development and the society) Both of them focus on the negative impact on the economic development and the society.

Metaphorical lines of the 'economy' in UKGC (Chapter 5)

**Economy**

January

- 83 the central bank must do everything in its power, if necessary, dropping money from helicopters, to prevent the **economy** sliding into deflation - a real danger at that time.
- 121 If the **economy** did go into recession, it would at least start to shrink America's giant current-account deficit...
193. "It has paralyzed the local **economy**." He said about 8,000 people participated in a protest at the Shenzhen municipal government building, before police broke it up and arrested some of those involved.
196. She intends to use her experience to negotiate finance deals that can put the Liberian **economy** back on its feet.

February

9. Sweden is to take the biggest environmental step of any advanced western **economy** by trying to completely wean itself off oil within 15 years.
10. Sweden is to take the biggest energy step of any advanced western **economy** by trying to wean itself off oil completely within 15 years

25. ... the **economy** would have already come out of deflation and gone into an autonomous and sustainable recovery.

75. "...The **economy** here is going from strength to strength," she says.

273.... most Filipinos are struggling to survive in an **economy** which has slumped .

March

26. He did not eradicate the problems that threatened to bring the US **economy** to its knees in 2001.

34 If the US **economy** begins to slide, causing job losses, some fear America could turn in on itself, replicating the protectionist backlash after the 1929 stock market crash...

113 He does not want to go down as the man who followed the "maestro" Greenspan and plunged the **economy** into a recession...

157 But infighting and a stumbling **economy** quickly led to disenchantment and a split.

245.while they were taking small incremental steps, the rest of the world, especially the Indian **economy**, took giant leaps.

305. ...the absence of any Morrissey concerts is unlikely to bring the Canadian **economy** to its knees...

329 but they failed to deliver a sturdy enough framework to ensure stability, and as a result presided over an **economy** that lurched from bust to boom to bust again.

April

74 Although the **economy** has staged a vigorous comeback, it is not through methods popular with foreign investment managers.

103 ...might in fact be struggling strains credibility and will hardly prompt sympathy from those sectors of the **economy** limping along at much more meagre growth rates.

141 ...backs the view that the **economy** will return to its trend rate of growth of about 2.5% a year by the summer.

May

22 "I went out on a limb but the world **economy** came back," he said.

23 "I went out on a limb, but the world **economy** came back," he said.

91 But as the war faltered and the **economy** stalled, opposition mounted.

102 ... hospitals running dangerously short of medicines and the **economy** plunging into recession.

119. In the short term, there is no suggestion that the **economy** is going to lurch into recession.

233. Its success in maintaining parity with the US during the cold war arms race ultimately crippled its **economy**, which made Boris Yeltsin's privatization of national industries appear a necessity.

278 Britain believes that opening up the provision for services, which accounts for 70% of the EU's economy, could have a dramatic impact on Europe's faltering **economy**.

June

89. They also recommend discrediting hoarding small change to paralyze the **economy**.

134. Because if the **economy** goes down the chute, there's not an awful lot left, is there?

181 ...designed to end international sanctions against the Hamas government that have crippled the Palestinian **economy**...

182 But the Turkish **economy**, a "rising star" under Mr Erdogan since the collapse of 2001, has been in free fall for weeks.

231 "... and one that creates the skills base needed to ensure Northern Ireland's **economy** doesn't get left behind."

267 None of this means that the German **economy** is now galloping away...

270 "The cost of so much failure must be crippling to the **French economy**,"

272 Because if the **economy** goes down the chute, there's not an awful lot left, is there?

277 And having Turkey in the EU will not only ensure that a big emerging **economy** is taking the right steps to tackle climate change...

July

310 The conservation, the benefits to wildlife and the local environment and **economy** – there are now more than 40 people working here – and even the quality of life has come as part of that.

August

174 A boom could easily turn to bust if rocketing rents are undermined by a stalling economy.

241 Cuba may look forlorn, all peeling buildings and pockmarked roads. Its **economy** may have long since tumbled into creaking anarchy.

242 Cuba may look forlorn, all peeling buildings and pockmarked roads. Its **economy** may have long since tumbled into creaking anarchy.

253 The concept of viability was retrospective, to a golden age before the second-home **economy** arrived, but the concern was real enough.

September

11 ...the US **economy**, which now looks as if it is faltering, can no longer be expected to be the main locomotive for the global economy.

22 This is likely to concern analysts, who are watching for signs the US **economy** is entering a period of decline.

44. Israel says it has closed border crossings for security reasons, but the closures were crippling their **economy**.

51 It nearly collapsed in 2001 after it over- expanded as the **economy** went through a downturn and competition increased.

97 ...revised down its original estimate of second-quarter growth from a steamy 0.8% to a more normal 0.7%, suggesting the **economy** is not running too fast and is growing more slowly than the Bank of England has been expecting.

290. The British **economy** has slipped down the world league, in terms of competitiveness but remains in the top 10 for the second year running.

October

119 The Fed would be cutting rates by this time next year in an attempt to get the **economy** going again.

165 Ms Rice promised to ask the Israelis to relax the closure of crossing points, which has hampered the Palestinian **economy**.

221 The collapse of the Soviet Union and its subsidies plunged the Caribbean island's **economy** into freefall in the early 1990s.

272 Investment group Jupiter is predicting that the Chinese **economy** will continue to leap forward at 8%-10% growth rates over the next few year,

November

F-7

6. and ensuring individuals and the wider **economy** stand ready to face the challenges of globalization.

11. The news encouraged those who hope the US **economy** will not slip into recession and the dollar edged higher after its recent falls.

80 Then once the intifada started, the **economy** slumped.

132 "... you've got to let the **economy** be free-running and real", "...

183. or an attempt (like its deliberate booming of the Jiyeh power plant, causing a massive oil spill) to cripple Lebanon's **economy**.

### **Economies**

January

10 ... to cut interest rates sharply after the stock market slump of 2000 to prevent **economies** stalling.

February

8.... modern Cassandras will eventually be vindicated, or whether both the US and UK **economies** will somehow stumble into stability, as they have these past few years...

41 ... from Dublin to Barcelona, a single flight and in many ways a single story: both **economies** pounding away, both cities transformed.

July



11 ... from the organization for Economic Cooperation and Development which backs mayors as a way to revive stalled regional **economies**.

F-8

September

10. ... the **economies** crippled by the cotton industry. All of this could have been avoided by using hemp.

18. ... to get through without catastrophe or resource shortages that cripple our **economies** or lead to immense social upheavals and strife.

19 Yet Sweden's growth has consistently lagged behind other OECD **economies** since 1970.

October

32 "It is hard to conceive that the UK, one of the world's leading **economies**, would stand aside from such a global scientific and technological endeavour.

November

21. Billions across the globe will perish, **economies** will be crippled, work forces decimated...

Economic

August

54 ...what economist Laszlo Andor has called "Europe's great depression", the biggest **economic slump** in the continent since the 30s.

November

9 ... Here the local community bears all the hallmarks of the **economic** slump.

## Metaphorical lines of the ‘economy’ in HKEJC (Chapter Five)

I.) Descriptions related to the manner of movements of the **economy** in the JOURNEY metaphor

## January

30 我地 需要 领袖 带领 香港经济 由 依家 嘅 困局 走向 另一高峰 ...

78 ...香港经济 何去何从 ？

## February

229 曾荫权 在 致辞 时 表示 ， 香港 的 经济 已 走过 严冬 ...

## March

315 ... 日本经济 已 拨开 云雾 ， 踏上 全方位 复甦 之路 ...

576... 由于 内地 经济 离 成熟饱和 仍有 很长 的路 要走...

669 反之 ， 中国 经济 仍 停留 喺 透过 改善 电力 产能 、 汽车 工业 、 通讯 及 营商 环境 去 提升 效率 嘅 第三次 繁荣 周期 。

## April

605 ... 中国经济 仍停留 在 各省各市 各自为政 嘅 阶段 ...

#### June

641 今后 中国 经济 何去何从 ...

654 ... 让 世界 经济 脚步 走个不停 。

#### August

85 日本 近年 经济 虽 原地踏步...

866 ...令 经济 停留 喺 农业 社会 ...

#### November

709 中国 经济 发展 成为 带动 本港 以至 全球 经济 走向的 关键 。

737 加上 改革 开放 使 经济 长足 发展 ...

849 八十年代互联网 普及环境 下，经济 走向 环球化...

### II) Conceptual metaphors related to the directions of the movements of the **economy**

#### a. FORWARD IS GOOD

##### January

391 ...推动 经济 愈向前走...

February

371 ... 本港经济 不但 原地踏步 ， 更不进则退 ...

834 ...中国 经济 仍 稳步向前 等 。

November

819 ...中国经济 仍 大步向前 。

b. UP IS GOOD

July

667 ... 近十多年 嚟 影响 台湾 经济 更上一层楼 嘅 机会 ...

October

763 香港 极之 缺乏 知识 型 劳工 协助 经济 更上一层楼 ...

c. DOWNWARD IS BAD

January

154 ... 避免 因 美国经济 走下坡 而 导致 亏损 。

March

146 ... 71% 认为 未来 十二个月 纽西兰 经济 仍走下坡 ...

#### June

285 当 政治 出 问题 之 时 ， 经济 必然 走下坡 ...

#### August

424 1990 年 日本 经济 走下坡 ...

25 ... 香港 经济 ， 是由 1997 年 开始 走下坡 的 ...

372 ... 由于 经济 走下坡...

#### October

490 ... 日本经济 会否 又 再向下走 ？

#### November

92 ... 令 日本 自 1990 年 起 经济 走下坡 ...

209 ...香港 楼价 回落期 如 1973-74 年 、 1981-82 年 、 1989 年 、 1994 年 ， 都系 经济 大幅 走下坡 才 发生 。

630 近 十 多年 台湾 经济 走下坡 ...

663 ...反令 南非 经济 走下坡 。

770 ...当 香港 二〇〇三年 经济 走下坡 时...

d. SIDWAY MOVEMENTS ARE BAD

October

652 ...地下 经济 横行 ， 法治 徒具 虚文 。

III) Other conceptual metaphors related to the movements of the **economy**

a. SPEED IS STEPS

489 ..除非 外围 经济 步伐 减慢...

February

637 ... 若 以 目前 内地 航空 货运 规模 及 经济 步伐 推算 ...

683 近年 内地 经济 进一步 开放 和 更趋 成熟长 ...

814 ... 这些 自主 创新 也 不一定 能够 带动 中国 经济 进一步 转型 ， 反而 会 造成 资源 浪费 。

857 ... 认为 今年 上半年 经济 将 进一步 放缓 ...

## March

272 ... 而 正在 复甦 的 本港 经济 也 步伐 不稳 ...

371 ... 没有 理由 认为 在 不同 的 发展 时期 建造业 都 必须 与 总体 经济 同步 增长 。

## April

20 ... 香港 经济 的 进一步 增长 将 受到 决定性 的 掣肘 。

329 ... 不足以 推动 经济 进一步 转型 等等...

576 ... 随着 中国 经济 进一步 增长 ...

## June

60 2005 年 香港 经济 出现 进一步 增长 ...

80 ... 公司 盈利 随 经济 进一步 改善 ...

480 ...促进 香港 和 内地 经济 进一步 融合 的 措施...

580 ... 为 应付 日后 随着 中国 经济 逐步 对外开放 ...

646 1978 年 改革开放 后，中国 经济 一 步步 融入 世界 自由 贸易 体系内 ...

649 香港 和 内地 的 工资 水平，将会 随著 两地 经济 逐步 融合 而 拉近 ...

## July

119 ... 今年 5 月 10 日 起 经济 逐步 返回 正常 ...

174 ... 未来 数年 的 美国 经济 步伐 亦 可能 被 拖慢 。

494 ... 内地 在 宏观 调控，控制 经济 步伐 加快 同时 ， 亦要 纾缓 人民币 的 压力 ...

507 ... 美国 连番 加息 及 能源 价格 高企 已 开始 拖慢 经济 及 住屋 市场 的 步伐 ...

508 ... 美国 连番 加息 及 能源 价格 高企 已 开始 拖慢 经济 及 住屋 市场 的 步伐 ...

#### August

130 五厘二五 系咪 能够 阻止 美国 经济 进一步 繁荣 ？

221 ... 即 美国 经济 9 月份 进一步 放缓 机会 极大 ...

322 ... 至于 珠 三角 及 香港 如何 可以 在 不同 的 经济 及 环保 步伐 上 ， 合作 改善 污染 问题 ...

374 合作 一旦 落实 ， 有助 本港 经济 进一步 发展 ...

397 ... 已 有 足够 力量 令 未来 经济 逐步 放缓 ...

511 ... 本港 经济 开始 进入 持续 平稳 增长期 ， 年内 经济 步伐 将 逐步 由 高增长 放缓 ...

657 而 C E P A 及 粤港 个人游 开放 ， 也 促进 双边 经济 步伐 。

773 ... 将使 经济 进一步 恶化 ...

508 ... 然而 市场 开始 担忧 经济 进一步 放缓 ...

934 ... 美国 因素 对 两地 经济 的 共同 影响， 是 造成 两地 经济 高度 同步 的 原因 。

936 ...中港 两地 经济 进一步 整合 ...

937 问题 是 中港 两地 经济 进一步 整合...



## October

405 ... 帮助 本港 经济 进一步 发展 ...

723 香港 1997 年 后 经济 无法 进一步 繁荣 ...

827 1980 年起 全球 经济 逐步 全球化 后...

926 ... 中国 经济 将 进一步 融入 全球化 体系 中 ...

## November

2 ... 自 「沙士」 一役 后 ， 香港 经济 逐步 增长 ...

142 ... 担心 美国 经济 进一步 放缓 而 影响 企业 盈利 呢 ？

371 ... 随着 内地 与 本港 经济 进一步 整合 ...

422 尽管 美国 明年 经济 预料 将 进一步 降温 ...

845 ... 最终 必然 与 经济 同步 ， 甚至 跑输 大市 。

b. PREDICTION IS WALKING OR RUNNING ('posture of the movements', *zhou xi*, 走势)

## January

13 ... 即时 而 充分 掌握 香港 经济 走势 ...

163 环球 股市 已 反映 美国 经济 温和 放缓 的 走势 ...

August

114 ... 经济 走势 仍然 强劲 。

134 ... ..就要 视乎 美国经济 走势 ...

144 另一个 必须 注意 的 因素 ， 当然 是 美国经济的 走势 。

155 ... 市场 注意力 开始 转向 美国经济 走势 。

October

603 ...并 已经 完全 代表 了 中国 宏观经济的 走势 ...

November

397 ... 本港经济 及 物价 走势 受 美国 影响 ， 多于 受 内地 影响 ...

c. PROBLEMS ARE PARALYSIS

January

671 非洲 安哥拉 的 贪污 令 经济 濒于 瘫痪 ...

November

台湾 经济 一蹶不振 ...

#### d. IMPORTANCE IS STANDING

February

145 ...美国 经济 对 日本 举足轻重 ...

August

682 ...这在 国家 开展 国际 经济 合作 上 举足轻重 ...

November

345 ... 可见 赌业 对 澳门 经济 举足轻重 。

688 ... 美国 及 内地 经济 情况 举足轻重 ...

#### IV). Descriptions of the locations as a restricted container in the JOURNEY metaphor

594 ... 经济 有 些微 步出 困境 的 迹象 ...

May

563 ... 已令 中国 经济 陷入 宏观 陷阱 ...

574 ...其实 中国 经济 已 陷入 困局 ...

August

51 ... 政府 把 刚从 通缩 谷底 走 出来 的 香港 经济 又 赶进 死胡同 去 ...

640 九十 年代 禁止 台商 投资 大陆 ， 令 今天 台湾 经济 陷入 困局 ...

643 ... 台湾 经济 仲系 走唔出 困局 。

October

267 ...香港 的 经济 陷入 一片混乱 中 。

V). Conceptual metaphors related to the locations and the path

a. STYLE IS PATH

March

322 ... 更 希望 避免 重陷 1990 年 起 日本 经济 嘅 老路 ...

## June

594 ...中国经济 由 封闭式 走向 开放式...

600 ... 令人 担心 未来 中国经济 极有 可能 走上 日本模式 或 香港模式 。

## July

189 ... 美国经济 已 重返 七十年代 嘅 模式 。

## August

121 ... 令 美国 经济 重返 GDP 低增长 ...

165 ... 美国经济 正步向 缓慢增长 阶段，...

349 ... 反映 美国经济 滑落 ， 相信 环球经济 亦 将走上 同一 道路 ...

648 ...加上 地下 经济 大行其道 ...

## October

219 ... 阻止 美国 经济 受 科网股 泡沫 爆破 后遗症 嘅 影响 而 步 日本经济 后尘 ！

265 「 我们 的 经济 需要 走向 高技术 、 高增值 的 知识型 经济 ...

266 我们 的 经济 需要走向 高技术 、 高增值 的 知识型 经济 ...

## b. ECONOMIC COMPETITIONS ARE RACES

## February

4 过去 两 年 ， 香港 经济 重拾 升轨 ， 中断后 的 竞赛 重新 开步 ...

128 唔系 美国 经济 落后 咗 ...

757 ... 令 经济 长期 落后 。

## April

627 ... 经济 由 1950 年 起步 ， 1980 年 见顶 ...

## June

669 ...在 市场 担心 美国 以至 亚洲区 利率 持续 上升 、 经济 后劲 不继 下 ...

## July

81 ... 非洲 经济 近年 亦起步走 ...

346 ... 香港 的 泡沫 经济 ， 正是 从 九十 年代初 起步 ...

## August

67 我 老曹 十分 相信 非洲 经济 已 开始 起步 走 ！

- 492 八十 年代 楼市 系 行先 经济 一 步 ...
- 563 ... 但 唔少 经济 比较 落后 嘅 国家 ， 中产阶级 系 少数 ...
- 876 台湾 不但 经济 起步 较 香港 迟 （ 1971 年 才 起步 ） ...
- 712 ...在 七十 年代 内地 政治 封闭 和 经济 落后 ...
- 764 ... 八十 年代 楼 市 系 行先 经济一步 ...
- 970 ... 亦 拉动 长三角 经济 起步 ...

## October

- 96 ... 经济 渐渐 落后 于 其他地区 。
- 669 ... 股价 通常 走 在 经济 之前 三至 九个月 （ 平均 六个月 ） ...

## November

- 491 所有 经济 落后 国家 ， 其中 一个 特色 系 通街 小贩 。
- 708 ... 经济 落后 ， 令 日本人 根本 上 就 睇唔起 中国 人 。

## c. DIFFICUTLIES ARE WARS

## August

## d. STATES ARE BOUNDED LOCATIONS

The nine types of bounded locations

## i. Features of an object as locations

## January

152 今年 2 月 贝南奇 上任 后 , 美国 经济 进入「通胀 目标」期 。

169 ... 2006 年 美国 经济 将 进入 「 disinflationary 」 时代 。

172 ... 美国 经济 喺 九十年代 进入 再膨胀期 ...

## February

155 ... 将系 美国 经济 可能 进入 通缩 嘅 讯号 ...

812 ... 可 引发 2007 年 中国 经济 进入 通缩期 ...

856 ... 经济 仍 逃唔过 走入 通缩 嘅 命运 ...

## March



145 纽西兰 经济 已 进入 冷却期 ...

April

133 .....代表 美国 经济 进入 过热期 。

145 ... 都 证明 美国 经济 已 进入 过热期 ...

June

141 ...今天 美国经济 可能 早已 进入 通缩 而非 忧虑 通胀 。

435 ... 配合 日本 经济 进入 稳步 复甦 及 温和 扩张 ...

July

157 七十 年代 美国 经济 进入 滞胀期 ...

158 ...令 美国 经济 进入 滞胀期 。

191 ... 相信 未来 美国 经济 将 进入 滞胀期 。

203 ... 美国 经济 再一次 进入 滞胀期 ...

860 ...而令 经济 进入 滞胀期 。

## August

- 51 ... 政府 把 刚从 通缩 谷底 走 出来 的 香港 经济 又 赶进 死胡同 去 ...
- 113 愈嚟 愈肯定 经济 进入 滞胀期 ...
- 128 8 月 8 日 联储局 投票 决定 让 美国 经济 进入 滞胀期 ...
- 129 点解 1967 年 美国 经济 进入 滞胀 ...
- 132 未来 唔系 担心 利率 系咪 上升 ， 而 系 美国 经济 踏入 滞胀期 。
- 150 ...只 代表 美国 经济 渐进入 冷却期 ...
- 157 美国 经济 无可避免 进入 滞胀期 ( stagflation ) ...
- 180 美国 经济 已 逐步 陷入 滞胀期 。
- 200 ... 阻止 咗 美国 经济 喺 2002 年 进入 通缩 。
- 371 1973 至 79 年 系 美国 上一次 经济 进入 滞胀期 ...
- 833 中国 经济 由 1998 年 进入 扩张期 后 ...

## September

- 166 ... 美国 经济 正 进入 滞胀期 ...
- 381 ... 过热 经济 今年 8 月 开始 进入 冷却周期 ...
- 524 经济 已 进入 滞胀期 ...

836 ... 经济 未进入收缩期 ...

859 如因减息而令经济 进入滞胀 ...

903 ... 即8月开始中国 经济有可能进入冷却期 ...

#### October

113 八十年代初期，西方 经济走出「滞胀」困境 ...

177 ...阻止美国 经济进入「通缩流动资金陷阱」 ( deflation liquidity trap ) ...

468 虽然日本 经济进入第五十六个月扩张期...

#### November

659 ... 印度 经济已进入过热期 ...

643 ... 只系反映 经济进入整固及放缓...

#### ii. Vertical movements of anonymous objects as locations

#### January

139 ... 未令英国 经济进入衰退 ...

153 ... 即可 令 美国 经济 进入 衰退 。

February

813 ... 中国 经济 进入 新一轮 上升 周期...

March

307 ... 1990 年起 日本 经济 进入 下滑 周期 ...

525 ... 逆向孳息曲线 的 出现 并不 反映 经济 将 步入 衰退期 。

April

251 ... 在 日本 及 欧洲 经济 及 息率 均 步入 升轨 下...

June

70 ... 现阶段 市场 要 面对 经济 会 否 进入 衰退 或 软着陆 的 疑虑 ...

128 ... 美国 经济 应该 进入 衰退期 ...

295 ... 日本 经济 便 再 陷入 衰退 。

514 全球 经济 进入 Boom & Bust 期 ...

## July

138 ... 1914 年 起 英国 经济 进入 回落期...

155 ... 令 美国 经济 陷入 衰退 。

156 2000 年 起 美国 经济 进入 回落期 ...

190 ...前提 是其 贸易 伙伴 美国 经济 将步入 衰退 。

## August

103 ... 日本 及 西德 经济 进入 上升 周期 ...

## September

34 ...香港 经济 才 正式 陷入 衰退期 。

411 一九七三年 的 股灾后 ， 本港 经济 步入 衰退 。

460 ... 唔少人 认系 日圆 升值 令 日本 经济 1990 年起 步入 衰退 ...

509 ... 美国 联储局 担心 经济 陷入 衰退 而 疯狂 减息 。

820 ...令 中国 经济 无法 进入 更高 层次 ...

## October

8 2002 年 香港 经济 陷入 衰退 ...

13 ... 因为 嗰段 日子 香港 经济 进入 上升期 ...

November

140 美国 经济 进入 三低期 ...

141 展望 明年 美国 经济 进入 三低期...

423 明年 经济 进入 三低期 (低 CPI 增长率、 低 利率、 低 GDP 增长率) ...

iii. The growth of living things as bounded locations

January

306 ... 由于 本港 经济 已 进入 平稳 发展期 ...

595 ... 经济 陷入 低增长期 ...

February

794 经济 进入 另一次 放缓期 ...

106 ...当 日本 同 西德 经济 进入 增长 放缓期...

## March

570 日后 表现 将受 内地 经济 进入 平稳 增长 及 未来 新股 投入 竞争 的 影响 ...

## June

38 ... 香港 经济 已 进入 中期 增长 轨道 ...

119 今年 下半年 开始 美国 经济 进入 增长 放缓期 ...

137 美国 经济 因此 进入 另一次 繁荣期 ...

150 ...令 纽西兰 经济 进入 放缓期 ...

435 ... 全球 利率 上调，配合 日本 经济 进入 稳步 复甦 及 温和 扩张 ...

## July

192 ... 即 市场 正 估计 美国 经济 将 进入 放缓期 。

## August

125 ...未来 十二个月 美国经济 进入 极低 GDP 增长率 机会 已高达 30% ...

126 如 美国 经济 进入 放缓期，全球 经济 会点？

156 ... 引发 美国 经济 明年 进入 极度 放缓期 ...

211 ... 2000 年 首季 美国 经济 再次 进入 放缓期...

222 ... 市场 关注 **中美 经济** 进入 增长 放缓期 ...

258 ... 代表 债券 投资者 相信 **经济** 进入 放缓期 ...

355 ... 睇 嚟 **澳洲 经济** 正 进入 放缓期 ...

383 ... **本港 经济** 开始 进入 持续 平稳 增长期 ...

572 基于 **经济** 渐渐 进入 低增长期 ...

895 过去 七年 石油 需求 随着 **中国 经济** 进入 高增长期 而 增加 ...

#### October

174 **美国 经济** 进入 放缓期...

176 ... 假如 阁下 相信 明年 **美国 经济** 进入 放缓期...

178 ... 直接 或 间接 亦受 **美国 经济** 进入 放缓期 所 影响 。

179 ...**美国 经济** 进入 放缓期...

180 1982 年起 **美国 经济** 进入 低通胀 、 低利率 、 GDP 高增长期 。

218 ... 并 成功 阻止 **美国 经济** 喺 2000 年代 步入 日本 1990 年式 衰退 。

373 而 现今 亚洲 各国 的 **经济** 亦已经 踏入 复甦 阶段...



November

155 美国 经济 由 高增长期 进入 低增长期 。

614 ... 1982 年 英美 两国 经济 齐齐 进入 经济 繁荣期 。

643 ... 只系 反映 经济 进入 整固 及 放缓 ...

iv. The landing of the aeroplanes as locations

February

125 ... 美国 经济 进入 安全 着陆期 。

June

70 ... 现阶段 市场 要 面对 经济 会 否 进入 衰退 或 软着陆 的 疑虑 ...

581 让 中国 经济 进入 软着陆期 ...

July

188 展望 下半年 ， 美国 经济 开始 进入 软着陆 期 ...

208 美国 经济 今年 第二 季 开始 进入 软着陆期 ...

September

38 ... 当时 香港 经济 已 进入 起飞期 . ...

918 ... 中国 经济 今年 7 月开始 亦 进入 软着陆期 。

November

88 ... 如无意外 2007 年 越南 经济 进入 起飞期 。

656 ...而 1991 年 已面对 波斯湾 危机 经济 进入 软着陆期 。

v. The operations of vehicles as locations

November

838 ... 整个 世界 经济 便 进入 低波 行车期 。

vi. Stages in the human life cycle as locations

January

6 ... 是否 同时 反映 香港 经济 进入 成熟期 ？

15 民主 发展 并 不能 解决 香港 经济 自 1997 年 8 月 起 进入 成熟期 的 问题 ...

349 主因 是 经济 进入 成熟期...

February

341 ... 本港 经济 已逐渐 步入 了 中年阶段 ...

August

234 ... 经济 早已 进入 老年期 。

October

175 战后 美国 经济 进入 高速 成长期 ...

475 日本 经济 早已 进入 成熟期

November

163 ... ..加上 美国 经济 早已 进入 成熟期

## vii. Landscapes and the scenery as locations

## February

728 ...以 保持 经济 不致 陷入 萧条 ...

## April

296 ...日本 经济 步出 谷底 ...

## June

26 时至今日 ， 香港 经济 步出 谷底 ...

## July

437 日本经济 自六个月前 走出 低谷后 持续增长...

741 ... CEPA 领港 走出 经济 谷底 ...

## August

51 ... 政府 把 刚从 通缩 谷底 走 出来 的 香港 经济 又 赶进 死胡同 去 ...

127 ... 美国 经济 进入「高原期」 ...

429 整个 日本 经济 正 进入 萎缩期 ...

## October

12 香港 经济 进入 高原期 ...

57 相信 两年后 香港 经济 再 进入 低潮...

552 当 经济 进入 高原期...

## November

549 ...依家 经济 已 踏入 秋季 ...

670 ...本港 在 沙士 爆发 前后 经济 陷入 低谷 ...

## viii. The styles of the economy as locations

## February

50 ... 但 香港 经济 一样 有 进入 知识 产权 时代 。

489 ...相信 今年 下半年 开始 经济 才 进入 第四 阶段 ...

March

652 ...中国 经济 进入 市场化 已 二十七年 了...

April

55 ...1981 年 香港 经济 已 步入 转型期 ...

July

171 ... 美国 经济 由 电子 科技 时代 进入 微 处理 科技 、 电脑 软件 科技 时代 ...

913 ...中国 经济 将 永远 走唔出 真正 市场经济 ...

172 ...美国 经济 由 高增长期 (1982 至 99 年) 进入 物有所值 (value)

August

199 ...令 美国 经济 喺 1978 及 79 年 进入 Expensive Money ( 贵钱 ) 时代...

September

4 ... 因此 1997 年起 香港 经济 进入 大调整期 ...

813 ...1982 年起 全球 经济 进入 泡沫 推动 或 借贷 推动 ...

## October

- 42 ...香港 经济 已 进入 资本主义 第三 阶段 ...
- 63 ...香港 经济 1997 年起 已进入 资本主义 第三阶段 （即 寡头垄断期 ） 。
- 196 ...美国 经济 早已 陷入 类似 1990 年代 嘅 日本 衰退 模式 ...
- 209 ... 未来 美国 经济 将由 高消费期 逐步 进入 高储蓄期（高税收期 ） 。
- 208 ...美国 经济 已 进入 七十 年代 模式 。
- 217 ... 全球 只有 美国 经济 喺 八十 年代 进入 第四 产业 ...

## November

- 3 ... 此乃 香港 经济 进入 服务型 经济 后 面对 最难 解决 问题 ...
- 95 ... 除了 为 该国 经济 走进 市场化 带来 深远 影响 外 ...
- 139 ...美国 经济 逐渐 进入 另一次 由 劳工 成本 上升 推动 CPI 上升期 ...
- 151 美国 经济 自 今年 2 月 开始 逐步 进入 通胀 目标 政策 时代...
- 197 ... 美国 经济 会否 已 陷入 日式 经济 ？
- 795 中国 经济 开始 由 出口 带动 进入 由 固定资产 投资 带动 ...
- 796 香港 才 出现 ， 上述 情况 证明 中国 经济 开始 进入 大量 消费期 ...

## ix. Miscellaneous

## April

607 ...中国 经济 亦 进入 七只 肥牛年 ...

780 中国 经济 进入 「三头马车」期 ...

781 2007 年 系 中国 经济 进入 「三头马车」期 ...



## Metaphorical lines of the 'economy' in UKGC (Chapter Six)

## THE ECONOMY IS A FORCE (realized by different kinds of motion verbs)

## 'push'

4 ...but this jump in prices was caused by **the strong world economy**, which pushed up demand ... (UKGC\_Jan 06)

204 ...then China is now the world's fourth-largest **economy** and has pushed Britain into fifth place. (UKGC\_Jan 06)

26...the fast-growing Chinese and Indian **economies** are pushing up demand to a point where not only port facilities but also the hinterland infrastructure – roads and railways – are becoming stretched. (UKGC\_Apr 06)

25 The Trec scientists hope German chancellor Angela Merkel will use next year's joint presidency of the EU and Group of Eight leading **economies** to push for an agreement on a European DC grid ... (UKGC\_Nov 06)

## 'pick up'

270 The ZEW institute reported that as a result of this and growing signs that the domestic **economy** may be picking up, its investor confidence index jumped by 9.4 points this month to 71.0... (UKGC\_Jan 06)

98 The **economy** is picking up again after last year's twitchiness. (UKGC\_Mar 06)

144. The Bank might raise rates later this year if the **economy** continued to pick up. (UKGC\_May 06)
251. Britain's manufacturing industry is enjoying its best performance for a decade, supported by strengthening export demand as the **global economy** picks up speed, according to an influential survey of the sector published today. (UKGC\_Jun 06)
79. But navigation is becoming more difficult as the **economy** picks up pace and adds bulk. (UKGC\_Aug 06)
339. Far from the sign that the country's battered **economy** is picking up, the mad spending is a frantic attempt to turn cash into assets. (UKGC\_Aug 06)
124. This forecasts GDP growth of 2.7% as **the economy** continues to pick up, but inflation reaching a peak of 2.8 % in the first quarter of 2007. (UKGC\_Sept 06)
- 'take'
113. For Brown, the **economy** has taken a back seat to politics for some time and his Treasury has lain dormant as the chancellor has mulled over his strategy for the succession. (UKGC\_Sept 06)
233. **The British economy** should take over the mantle of a "Goldilocks" economy from the US, the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development said yesterday as it sharply revised up its growth forecast for British this year. (UKGC\_Sept 06)
- 69 ...the **economy** is taking you by the tip of your head and pulling you up. (UKGC\_Feb 06)

29. ...the Group of Seven leading **economies** taking the initiative, cutting their emissions by about half by 2050 ... (UKGC\_Sept 06)

‘Shrug off’

38 To start with the giant US **economy**, it is hard not to be impressed how it shrugged off the jump in petrol and other energy prices last year... (UKGC\_Jan 06)

241. ... it would be complacent to assume that the ability, so far, of the **global economy** to shrug off the increase in oil prices since early 2003 means it will continue to do so. (UKGC\_Jul 06)

256. Although the **global economy** has so far shrugged off the three-fold increase in oil prices since the start of 2003... (UKGC\_Jul 06)

‘raise’

6. Threat of inflation has not yet been curbed as the booming **world economy** raised the price of oil and other commodities. (UKGC\_Jun 06)

217. John McCaun, chief executive said a strong **Irish economy** helped raise advertising revenues there by 16%. (UKGC\_Sept 06)

‘bring’

283 immediate condemnation from green groups, which accused it of prospering from a "carbon **economy**" that would bring the world close to extinction with global warming. (UKGC\_Jan 06)

25 ...the extraordinary transformation of China's and India's **economies** promises to bring Marx and Engels' prediction to completion.

(UKGC\_Apr 06)

2 ... even weak **economies** can turn the global market against its creator. (UKGC\_Jan 06)

Others

136 "In what way does it help the rural **economy** to give encouragement to county councils to sell smallholdings?". (UKGC\_Feb 06)

281. One of the Wall Street's leading financial houses yesterday switched its attention from gold shares and the dollar to which emerging **economy** has the best chance of lifting the trophy in Berlin on July 9. (UKGC\_Mar 06)

235. The seventh-largest **economy** in the world, the 12th-largest source of greenhouse gas, will put its muscle behind an initiative to fight the effect of climate change. (UKGC\_Aug 06)

26. Falling shares in miners, a softening oil price and more worries about **the US economy** knocked back the FTSE 100 for the third session running yesterday. (UKGC\_Oct 06)

46. Planning controls have been comparatively weak, and the consequence has been decades of uncontrolled development – spurred by the success of the **Celtic Tiger Economy** – which have despoiled some of the island's most beautiful landscapes with rashes of “bungalow blight”, particularly along the coast. (UKGC\_Oct 06)

## ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IS HUMAN FRIENDSHIP

49 Countries such as India and other booming **economies** should be embraced by Britain as trading partners as a means to increasing global wealth.

(UKGC\_Sept/06)

42 Women aren't easily bought off - and their concerns also embrace civil liberties, the **economy** and Iraq.

(UKGC\_Sept/06)

27. “ social institutions and market **economies** go hand-in-hand.”

(UKGC\_Oct/06)

139 ... China, which has close **economic** ties with Iran, is the most hardline in opposing tough action against Tehran.

(UKGC\_Jan/06)

56 ... appeared to be ignoring the problems in China so that he could concentrate on **economic** ties.

(UKGC\_Apr/6)

94 ...1996 Becomes member of Council of Europe, establishes **economic** ties with EU...

(UKGC\_Sep/06)

105 The EU and India became “strategic partners” in June 2004 and have set up a high-level trade group to increase **economic** ties.

(UKGC\_Oct 06)

## Metaphorical lines of the ‘economy’ in HKEJC (Chapter Six)

## THE ECONOMY IS A FORCE

- 360 人人 都话 日本 经济 已 摆脱 衰退... (HKEJC\_Jan/06)
- 364 ...日本 经济 可能 摆脱 衰退 ... (HKEJC\_Jan/06)
- 402 ... 日本 经济 系咪 真正 摆脱 通缩 ？ (HKEJC\_Feb/06)
- 314 日本 经济 摆脱 困境 (HKEJC\_Mar/06)
- 4 ...香港经济 重拾 升轨， 中断后 的 竞赛 重新 开步， 但 香港 经济 仍在 转型 ... (HKEJC\_Feb/06)
- 315 从 过去 一年 的 数据 来看 ， 日本 经济 已 拨开 云雾， 踏上 全方位 复甦 之路 。 (HKEJC\_Mar/06)
- 577 由于 知识型经济 需要 脱离 简单 手作 ， 进行 几何级 的 提升... (HKEJC\_Aug/06)

## The Realization of economic relationship via the ‘whole-body’ metaphor:

‘Unification of the body’ (The *Yi Ti* metaphor 一体化)

- 52 因为 香港 经济 已 和 当地 混为一体 。 (HKEJC\_Jan/06)
- 267 随着 1997 年 7 月 香港 主权 回归 ， 中港 经济 渐渐 一体化... (HKEJC\_Jan/06)
- 653 中国 经济 融入 全球 经济 一体化 过程 中， 中国 必然 面对 热钱 冲击 ... (HKEJC\_Jan/06)

225 ... 反映 粤港 经济 在 多方面 已 <u>融为一体</u> 。	(HKEJC_Mar/06)
592 香港 和 内地 经济 <u>一体化</u> 进度 快 一点 ...	(HKEJC_Mar/06)
79 ... 随着 经济 <u>一体化</u> ， 香港 与 内地 的 伙伴 关系 已 难以 分割 。	(HKEJC_Jun/06)
200 ... 为 促进 香港 与 深圳 的 经济 <u>一体化</u> ...	(HKEJC_Jun/06)
201 ... 为 促进 香港 与 深圳 的 经济 <u>一体化</u> ...	(HKEJC_Jun/06)
321 ... 尤其 是 深圳 和 香港 如何 成为 经济 <u>共同体</u> ...	(HKEJC_Jun/06)
532 更何况 在 全球 经济 <u>一体化</u> 的 形势 下，爆发 危机 的 可能性 比 以前 更大 。	(HKEJC_Jun/06)
533 ... 政府 承认 ， 全球 经济 <u>一体化</u> ...	(HKEJC_Jun/06)
652 ... CEPA 对 推动 两地 经济 <u>一体化</u> 起到了 重要 作用 。	(HKEJC_Jun/06)
493 两年前 ， 长沙、 株洲 及 湘潭 三地 更 联合 起来 ， 推动 经济 <u>一体化</u> 。	(HKEJC_Jul/06)
627 ... 在 经济 和 货币 <u>一体化</u> 的 强大 动力 支持 下 ...	(HKEJC_Jul/06)
823 ...在 全球 经济 <u>一体化</u> 和 中港 两地 日趋 紧密 连系 的 今天 ...	(HKEJC_Jul/06)
824 在 全球 经济 <u>一体化</u> 影响 下，国际资金 和 人才 的 流通 愈来愈 方便 ...	(HKEJC_Jul/06)
825 ... 在 全球 经济 <u>一体化</u> 为 香港 带来 无限 商机 的 同时...	(HKEJC_Jul/06)

- 826 ...所谓 边缘化，主要是由于 全球经济一体化 而造成 ... (HKEJC\_Jul/06)
- 827 在 全球经济一体化 的背景下... (HKEJC\_Jul/06)
- 335 ... 但是他 却从 二千年 前 罗马帝国 带来 的 经济一体化 开始 说起 ... (HKEJC\_Aug/06)
- 753 ... 香港 的 贫穷 问题 源于 中港 融合 及 全球经济一体化 ... (HKEJC\_Aug/06)
- 754 ... 失业 的 员工 可获 再 培训，让 他们 也能 享受 全球经济一体化 带来 的 好处 ... (HKEJC\_Aug/06)
- 755 刺激 经济增长 方面，在 全球经济一体化 的 发展 下 ... (HKEJC\_Aug/06)
- 756 ... 指 香港 面对 人口 老化 及 全球经济一体化 ... (HKEJC\_Aug/06)
- 757 全球经济一体化 ... (HKEJC\_Aug/06)
- 115 ... 经济全球一体化 及 内地 逐步 开放 市场 ... (HKEJC\_Sept /06)
- 684 我 对 国际 经济一体化 理论 和 欧盟 一体化 经验 的 研究 始于 二十 世纪 八十 年代。 (HKEJC\_Sept /06)
- 685 ... 西方 理论家 为 国际经济一体化 和 欧洲 一体化 做了 并 一直 做 着 理论 准备。 (HKEJC\_Sept /06)
- 767 ... 因为 这种 区域经济共同体 的 形成 和 建构 ... (HKEJC\_Sept /06)
- 832 ... 在 全球经济一体化 及 内地 高速 发展下... (HKEJC\_Sept /06)
- 833 ... 随着 全球经济一体化 引发 激烈 竞争 ... (HKEJC\_Sept /06)
- 834 ... 随着 全球经济一体化 的 快速 进程 ... (HKEJC\_Sept /06)



- 835 ... 随着 全球 经济 一体化 ， 每天 大量 资金 在 流转 ... (HKEJC\_Sept /06)
- 868 欧 共 体 各 成 员 国 从 若 干 经 济 领 域 （ 如 煤 钢 联 营 ） 开 始 ， 从 经济 一体化 着 手 ... (HKEJC\_Sept /06)
- 961 ... 传统 皇 权 神 权 体 制 下 ， 经济 和 军事 一体 ... (HKEJC\_Sept /06)
- 289 真 正 成 为 中 国 好 香 港 好 的 「 经济 生命 共同体 」 ... (HKEJC\_Oct /06)
- 391 ... 中 港 经济 一体化 已 是 大 势 所 趋 ... (HKEJC\_Oct /06)
- 831 ... 现在 全 球 经济 渐 趋 一体化 ， 竞 争 激 烈 ... (HKEJC\_Oct /06)

#### ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IS HUMAN FRIENDSHIP

- 298 经济 与 政 治 通常 手 牵 手 ... (HKEJC\_Jun/06)
- 791 ... 刻 意 与 内 地 经济 靠 拢 ... (HKEJC\_Oct/06)

## Metaphorical lines of the 'economy' in UKGC (Chapter seven)

## Breathing metaphor

- 232 ... it stifles the knowledge **economy** because any start-up business based on government data is liable to find itself in direct commercial competition with the very body which produces that data. (UKGC\_May/06)
- 217 We argue there is also a longer-term opportunity cost - stifling a dynamic new **knowledge economy**. (UKGC\_Jun/ 06)
- 290 This mass warehousing of the **British economy** is also strangling attempts at urban regeneration. (UKGC\_Jul/ 06)
- 59 Instead the **economy** was slowly strangled by overdependence on one exploitable resource which created production bottlenecks, inefficiency, corruption and mismanagement... (UKGC\_Nov/06)
- 125 carpetbaggers who will flock to Liberia, ostensibly to help resuscitate the **economy** but in reality to pocket huge profits. (UKGC\_Jan/06)
- 142 A cabinet decision to provide a "breathing space" for the **economy** after the arrival of Poles and migrants from other new EU countries in the last 18 months is expected in the next two months. (UKGC\_Sept/06)
- 8 Southern **economies** need the kiss of life that science and technology can give them. (UKGC\_May/06)
- 14 It had left rates at 2% for the previous two and a half years in an attempt to breathe life into the **economies** of the eurozone, particularly Germany. (UKGC\_Jun/06)

Eating metaphor

The economy is food

9 **The strong world economy** should eventually feed through to better exports and higher investment... (UKGC\_Jan/06)

62 ... But the best satire is born from outrage: with war in the Gulf eating up **the economy**... (UKGC\_Jul/06)

The economy is eating or drinking

63 ...takes up to two years for interest-rate changes to feed through fully into **the economy**. (UKGC\_Jan/06)

9 ... Sweden is to take the biggest energy step of **any advanced western economy** by trying to wean itself off oil completely within 15 years ... (UKGC\_Feb/06)

10 ...Sweden is to take the biggest environmental step of **any advanced western economy** by trying to completely wean itself off oil within 15 years. (UKGC\_Feb/06)

176 The single greatest Chinese interest in Africa is oil. **China 's economy** is thirsty; by 2030 it will need to import 60% of its oil.

298 ... easing sectarian strife and rescuing **the oil-rich country's economy**, which has been starved of foreign investment. (UKGC\_Mar/06)

299 ... easing sectarian strife and rescuing **the oil-rich country's economy**, which has been starved of foreign investment. (UKGC\_Apr/06)

May

228 ...argues the two roles should be separated in the interests of nurturing a knowledge economy. (UKGC\_May/06)

265 ...I am delighted the **global economy** finally seems to be taking its medicine. (UKGC\_May/06)

293 ... as speculative investors have added to strong demand from the rapidly growing Chinese **economy**, which is sucking in raw materials at an unprecedented rate to feed its growing industrial base. (UKGC\_May/06)

241 ... sealing access to Russia's huge reserves for the fuel-hungry economy. (UKGC\_Jun/06)

313 ... both football and racing are deeply secretive. Each feeds the **black economy** on a grand scale... (UKGC\_Jun/06)

8 The sustained increase in oil prices - gas and electricity as well as oil - has been feeding through to the wider **economy** in higher transport and material costs. (UKGC\_Jul/06)

191 And that's over and above the further pounds 950,000 spent in the market itself each year, which also feeds back into the local economy. (UKGC\_Jul/06)

18 Only after **our economies** have been weaned from the profits they derive from their position in the world order may we seriously talk about socialism... (UKGC\_Aug/ 06)

332 ... this influx mostly of young people anxious to support themselves by work that has by no means proved indigestible to **Britain's economy** or social services ... (UKGC\_Aug/06)

- 191 ... the further pounds 950,000 spent in the market itself each year, which also feeds back into **the local economy**. (UKGC\_Sep/06)
- 205 ... Margaret Hodge, the e-minister, is charged with **nurturing** the knowledge economy... (UKGC\_Oct/ 06)
- 210 ... The e-minister charged with **nurturing** the knowledge economy at the DTI ... (UKGC\_Oct/06)
- 43 ... and slowly and painfully **the Turkish economy** was nursed back towards stability. (UKGC\_Nov/06)
- 150 ... poor and prey to the maladies affecting developing countries, not least an investment- starved **economy**, corruption and misgovernance. (UKGC\_Nov/06)
- 18 ... Only after **our economies** have been weaned from the profits they derive from their position in the world... (UKGC\_Aug/ 06)
- 184 ...the current charismatic president, has fostered **an economic boom** that has seen the economy growing at 5% ... (UKGC\_Jan/06)
- 2 With **economies** now biting, last week was certainly not the most propitious time to launch the new countryside body, Natural England... (UKGC\_Oct/06)
- 35 To some on the right, especially in the US, developing **economies** should swallow the offer on the table: notional cuts in subsidies by the US... (UKGC\_Jun/06)

## Humming or speaking metaphor

- 20 ... so the consensus is for growth of around 2%, perhaps a bit higher if the world **economy** continues to hum along. (UKGC\_Jan/06)
- 64 Only when Greenspan was confident **the economy was humming** did he start to tighten policy and by then the strong growth in the US coupled with the boom in China... (UKGC\_Jun/06)
- 77 The Indian story fizzled out in the mid-1990s when the **economy spluttered**. (UKGC\_Oct/06)
- 28 They may think that the Bank will conclude after looking at the mountain of debt, the stuttering US economy and the rising pound that it is too risky to pull the interest-rate trigger. (UKGC\_Nov/06)

Metaphorical lines of the ‘economy’ in HKEJC (Chapter seven)

BREATHING Metaphors

- 48 ... 香港 是 航运 中心 ， 航运业 与 香港 经济 息息相关 ... (HKEJC\_Jan/06)
- 51 ...由于 香港经济 已同 中国 （尤其 珠三角 一带）息息相关，如 中国 出现 沙士 疫症，香港 能 幸免 咩？ (HKEJC\_Jan/06)
- 63 香港经济 向来 与 楼市 发展 息息相关 。 (HKEJC\_Jan/06)
- 68 但 香港经济 发展 与 政治 的 出路 始终 仍是 息息相关。 (HKEJC\_Jan/06)
- 255 恒生指数 包含 多家 大型 本地 上市公司， 该等公司 盈利 与 本港 经济 息息相关... (HKEJC\_Mar/06)
- 687 ...香港 与 珠三角洲 经济 是 息息相关 的， 像 C E P A、个人游 等 。 (HKEJC\_Mar/06)
- 379 ... 与 本港 经济 息息相关 的 内地 ， 也 酝酿 另一次 加息 ...  
/ (HKEJC\_Jul/06)
- 380 ... 内地 息口 走势 ， 与 资金 流向 ， 跟 本港 经济 息息相关 (HKEJC\_Jul/06)
- 655 ... 在 《 香港家书》内 强调 优质 环境 和 经济 发展 息息相关... (HKEJC\_Jul/06)

179 ... 与 商品 能源 和 美国**经济** 息息相关 的 新兴 市场经济 ， 目前 风险 又 如何 ？ (HKEJC\_Sept/06)

334 ... 内地 的 **经济** 发展 与 香港 息息相关 (HKEJC\_Sept/ 06)

82 ...香港 **经济** 亦 不会 因此 奄奄一息 ... (HKEJC\_Jan/06)

32 ...董治 八 年 ， 香港 **经济** 奄奄一息 ... (HKEJC\_Feb/06)

338 ...喺 经济 全球化 下，嚟自 中国 嘅 竞争 早令 意大利 经济 透唔到... (HKEJC\_Apr/06)

34 ...**香港经济** 已从 九七 后 的 不断 滑坡 得到 喘息， 而且 颇有 起色 ... (HKEJC\_Jul/06)

4 ...**香港经济** 近两年 喘定 回升 ... (HKEJC\_Nov/06)

#### Eating metaphors

183 如果 曾特首 真的 希望 拖延 香港 的 民主 步伐，他 应该 给 **经济** 餵毒药，推出 一系列 「与时俱进」的 措施，拖垮 经济。  
(HKEJC\_Jan/06)

300 ...即使 利率 继续 调升 ， 对 按揭 还款 负担 影响 只会 逐步 显现 ， **经济** 有 充足 时间 作出 消化 。 (HKEJC\_Mar/06)

306 ... 回归 前后 **香港 的 经济** 只在「食老本」 ... (HKEJC\_Nov/06)